

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Number

1

374.0

RESIDENTIAL COLLEGES

Some New Developments
in British
Adult Education

GUY HUNTER



The Fund for Adult Education

CO-OPERATIVE UNION LTD.,
J. J. WORLEY MEMORIAL LIBRARY,
STANFORD HALL,
NR. LOUGHBOROUGH.

~~378~~
374

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

1

CO-OPERATIVE UNION LTD.,
J. J. WORLEY MEMORIAL LIBRARY,
STANFORD HALL,
NR. LOUGHBOROUGH

RESIDENTIAL COLLEGES

Some New Developments

in British

Adult Education

GUY HUNTER

CO-OPERATIVE UNION LTD.,
J. J. WORLEY MEMORIAL LIBRARY,
STANFORD HALL,
LOUGHBOROUGH

1 for Adult Education

The Fund for Adult Education

Established by the Ford Foundation

914 East Green Street

Pasadena 1, California

595 Madison Avenue

New York 22

•

New York

141 West Jackson Blvd.

Chicago

•

Illinois

THE FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION

The Fund for Adult Education, an independent organization established by the Ford Foundation in April 1951, conceives its special task as that of lending support to programs of liberal adult education for free citizens in our free society. It is concerned with developing the ability to think independently and well, and in that way eliminate the passive acceptance of ready-made, prescribed opinions.

The publication of these OCCASIONAL PAPERS is an outgrowth of that concern. The Papers will offer original data of significant kinds on aspects of adult education at home and abroad and provide not only useful facts but materials for fruitful discussion. All Papers printed will otherwise not be available in the United States to the best of our knowledge and belief.

Taken as a whole, the Papers selected for this series do not represent any particular philosophical approach to adult education and they should not, individually or collectively, be taken to reflect the views of The Fund for Adult Education. The Fund takes no responsibility for the facts as stated in the Papers or the opinions expressed. Such responsibility rests with the authors. The Fund accepts responsibility for the judgment that the Papers are worth printing in this series. Permission is given freely to quote the material, with proper acknowledgment of source.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS will not appear at regularly scheduled intervals, but rather as suitable material comes to hand.

THE AUTHOR

GUY HUNTER, M.A., Barr. at Law, was born in 1911 and educated at Winchester College and Trinity College, Cambridge. Before World War II he was employed as a public relations officer by the Gas Light and Coke Company, London. During the war he was in civil defence in Scotland and later became a staff member of the Middle East Supply Center, Cairo. From 1945 to 1951 he was Warden of Urchfont Manor Adult Residential College, Wiltshire. He has published articles in such periodicals as *The London Mercury*, *the Nineteenth Century*, *World Review*, *Personnel Management*, *Adult Education*, etc. and two books, *The British Way in Local Rule* and *Urchfont Papers*. Correspondence regarding his paper should be addressed c/o The National Institute of Adult Education, 35 Queen Anne Street, London, W.1., England.

AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Mr. Hunter would like to thank the Wardens of colleges in Britain and the staff of universities for much friendly help and unpublished information without which this report could not have been written; and to acknowledge the help of the National Institute of Adult Education in making available the use of their library and the help of their staff.

CONTENTS

I	INTRODUCTION	7
II	THE BACKGROUND OF ADULT EDUCATION AND THE ORIGINS OF THE NEW COLLEGES . . .	10
III	THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY	23
IV	VOCATION AND THE HUMANITIES	35
V	QUALITY AND STANDARDS	49
VI	PERSPECTIVE	60
	APPENDIX I	65
	APPENDIX II	75

I

Introduction

THE WAR GAVE A STRONG fresh impetus to British education. In an instinctive wish to find more positive motives than the destruction of Hitler, the people as a whole came to believe that they were fighting for a great new advance in social life. If the origins of the post-war social revolution lie in the economic troubles of 1920-1935, the practical planning of social reform started at the height of the war, with the Beveridge Report in 1943 on social services and the 1944 Education Act. The education program not only involved certain specific steps — universal secondary education, the raising of the school-leaving age from 14 to 15 and eventually 16, the intention to start compulsory part time education between school and 18, and a new duty on Local Education Authorities to provide for adult education. It stimulated a period of experiment and expansion in every educational field. The universities were encouraged to double their student numbers, and have almost achieved this in the amazingly short period of seven years. Grants and scholarships were provided far more widely and generously. A great new building program was laid down. Among these new developments is found the sudden appearance of more than a score of quite new institutions — the short-term residential colleges for adult education. In mere size and numbers of students these colleges are indeed small and would scarcely merit special attention. But taken in conjunction with certain developments in industrial and social education, their work may well prove of especial significance, representing not merely a new method but

a new type of education of the adult and a new attitude towards it. It is with these possibilities that this Paper is concerned.

All discussion of adult education must meet the initial difficulty of definition, and in particular must indicate the balance between deliberate educational effort and the normal cultural influence of adult life in society. In the broadest sense, as Professor Hocking has put it, the job of education is to communicate the type and provide for growth beyond the type. But in this general transmission of culture by far the greatest load is carried by home, school, working group, normal activities of citizenship (such as membership of a trade union or military service) and commercial entertainment by books, magazines, radio, television, theatre, film. Even the consciously directed attempts to alter or add to normal cultural influences are not confined to adult education classes. They must include the efforts of the churches, industrial and vocational training, membership of a wide range of organizations (such as Women's Institutes or Cooperative Guilds) which include education among their purposes, many activities of the B.B.C. or the Arts Council. Finally, there is membership of a host of clubs and societies, large and small, local and national, from pig clubs to literary and philosophical groups, through which national culture finds expression and continuity. It is presumably only in so far as these influences together are failing to transmit and add to elements of value, are degrading standards, or are losing influence, that the deliberate educational effort must be made. It is in this narrow sense that, for convenience, the term "adult education" will be used hereafter.

Two outstanding problems in the transmission of culture have arisen in the last three centuries. First, as to content. The rise of science and technology and the huge space it occupies in human thought and activities not only increases the load of knowledge which must constantly be shifted from the shoulders of one generation to another, it demands also a reconsideration of the nature of a "liberal" education or "the humanities" — i.e. a wide

and philosophic comprehension of human problems in the light of all human knowledge. Second, as to extent. Culture, in its anthropological sense, involves the quality of all social life, marriage and race track and folk song as well as highbrow periodicals. But it has its subdivisions, notably by social class. The culture of the aristocrat or the intellectual élite has always been defined quite differently from that of peasant and worker. Three centuries ago there was little question of transmitting the one to the other; nor, at least in mediaeval times, was the cultural life of the peasant considered inferior in wisdom, in the eyes of God to that of the literate. But the rise of democratic ideas has confused this issue, and we are now faced with deciding whether it is the business of democracy, and of adult education in particular, to attempt the transmission of a literate, élite culture right through society. These two problems — the nature of a humane education since the rise of science and the transmission of culture in a democracy — form the underlying themes of this Paper. Moreover, they must be worked out under the peculiar circumstances of the British tradition — one in which the aristocratic and hierarchical society of the eighteenth century was not violently disturbed, as in the American South, but insensibly altered by the industrial revolution and the rise of mass pressures, in politics and culture, which have everywhere accompanied it.

II.

The Background of Adult Education and the Origins of the New Colleges

In stable phases of society the typical culture will be passed on easily. But the nineteenth century in Britain brought simultaneously a social and technical revolution and a quadrupling of population. The old rural culture was broken up; and in the industrial towns grew up millions of new citizens cut off from their roots. No adequate machinery was there to civilise them, nor was it enough to create hastily a system of public elementary education: there was both a need and an instinctive hunger for adult learning. At first, every type of demand was met together. In the Mechanics Institutes and in the Working Men's Colleges in London or Sheffield men began to learn to read and write and do simple mathematics; others to learn accountancy and commercial subjects; others to learn the science of their factory trade; others still to reach out to some understanding of the new marvels of science and the older riches of literature and the arts. In the colleges (for the Institutes banned politics) there was also a strong group struggling to master economics and political philosophy, since through learning they believed that social emancipation of the industrial masses would come.

But gradually there came a division, which is of deep significance for the understanding of the whole sequel in adult education. The Mechanics Institutes, sponsored mainly by middle-class idealists and reformers, had not really intended to shoulder the necessary but humdrum task of teaching the worker the straight technique of a factory trade — nor were they equipped

to do so. The science reflected more the Victorian amateur, with his collection of shells or his telescope, than the hard necessities of spinning frame or steel works. Gradually the working men drifted away, except perhaps from the reading room or the chess club. The whole business of technical training came to be taken over by the Evening Institutes and Technical Colleges which were later to be organised by local authorities, and by professional associations which established their own standards and examinations. Naturally this work became largely a matter of teaching adolescents at the outset of their working life. If it had not been that some provision for adult hobbies — woodwork for example — also fell in the sphere of the Evening Institutes, they would have become wholly adolescent institutions.

The concept of "adult education" — and this is the crucial point — thus became one of the pursuit of knowledge "for its own sake," more and more divorced from any technical or vocational motive. At first it was carried on mainly by the University Extension movement, save where one of the older colleges or Institutes — such as the Working Man's College in London — managed not only to survive but to retain a mixture of basic vocational and liberal education under the same roof. The Extension lectures still retained a large element of science, learnt for its intrinsic interest, under such a man as Marshall, Professor of Biology, in Manchester. But gradually this gave way to a new emphasis which was to dominate adult education from the turn of the century almost to the present day.

The new attitude finds its first and clearest exposition in the report of a Committee on "Oxford and Working Class Education" (1908), established to consider how access to the old Universities could be made possible for working men of ability and determination. The solution found lay in the development of adult classes of working men to be taught by a University tutor in the evenings over a period of two or three years and at a standard of academic discipline which would prepare its members for a

subsequent degree course at Oxford; or, if that were impossible, would at least give them so full a taste of dispassionate study as would qualify them as leaders in Trade Union or Labour Party, just as Oxford trained leaders for statesmanship at home or in the Empire. Thus the hunger for social emancipation and the growing need for widely educated leaders of the working class movement was to be met. The Workers Education Association, founded in 1903, became the organising partner of the Universities in developing these "Tutorial Classes," which are the distinctive contribution of Britain to the world movement for adult education.

All accounts agree that both the academic standard and the enthusiasm of the members of the early tutorial classes, taken by such men as R. H. Tawney in Lancashire and North Staffordshire, were of the very highest. The subjects, mainly economic and political, were of burning interest to men, many of whom were sustained by the idealism of the early working class movement. They were discussed at once in practical terms and under the discipline of a trained mind. It seemed in those days to tutors engaged in this pioneering work that the combination of such zeal and such standards must lead to a great national revival of study and citizenship, and there is indeed a "revivalist" atmosphere about this period which, though much weakened, has clung faintly to the adult education movement ever since.

These very brief indications will perhaps give the main clues to an understanding of British adult education as it existed in 1939. Technical and vocational education had been banished to the Evening Institutes and Colleges: "adult education" had become virtually a technical term implying a pursuit of humane studies for their own sake conducted very largely through the voluntary organisation of the W.E.A. in partnership with the Universities and the Local Education Authorities. It did not, of course, consist wholly of Tutorial Classes. The W.E.A. developed classes of shorter periods and less exacting standards on its own,

partly within the Trade Union Movement and partly outside; and there were other organisations, such as the Adult School Union and the Cooperative Movement running a quite considerable program of their own. But the Tutorial Class, with its academic standards and tradition of objectivity, dominated the movement by its prestige; and those sections of the working class who demanded an education specially designed to give a training on socialist principles broke away and formed the National Council of Labour Colleges (operating largely by correspondence courses) to which more than half the Trade Union movement is to this day affiliated.

By the 1930's it was clear enough that adult education, whatever had been expected of it, was not making a really serious impact on national culture; and the discerning might have detected signs of weakness in the movement itself. Harsh facts cannot be disguised by idealism: and the fact was (it is still largely true) that the adult movement was still a struggling minority, little known by the great bulk of the population. It was ever short of funds: its meetings were held in unsuitable school classrooms, in chilly village halls or dingy clubrooms: its permanent staff was grossly underpaid; and it was still having to fight hard, exploiting the enthusiasm of thousands of unpaid helpers, to recruit students for its classes. The figures mounted: but, to take the W.E.A., they rose from 50,000 to 80,000* in a population of more than 40,000,000. Moreover, there were already signs of a fall in the temperature of classes and of a decrease in the proportion of manual workers in them. These two symptoms may be bracketed. For, with the growing political strength of the Labour movement, in Unions and in Parliamentary votes, eman-

* These are figures of W.E.A. classes in "human adult education." They do not include hobby classes and women's subjects in Evening Institutes or Technical Colleges, or classes run by the N.C.L.C., Cooperatives, or Adult School Union. The real, and considerable, increase in "education" was in membership of organisations with some educative function but not included in the list of those specifically offering adult classes.

cipation seemed more accessible through political and economic effort than through learning. Indeed, half unnoticed, it was coming already in the rising standards of consumption and security and the breakdown of privilege in many different forms. The subjects of classes became more varied — a higher proportion on literature, psychology and personal-cultural interests; and simultaneously the lower-middle and middle classes, to whom such subjects appealed, were entering classes in growing numbers and making their influence more felt. A mild interest in a "cultural" subject became more frequently the atmosphere rather than the intense enthusiasm of self-discipline of the archetypal Tutorial Classes.

Meanwhile, responsible opinion was becoming more and more deeply alarmed at the general cultural development of the nation — an alarm felt equally in most industrial civilisations. Various causes of concern were stressed. First, it seemed that the general level of education — which is always too low — was also almost wholly technical. Young men and women found it apparently sufficient to master the requirements of a job, and often an unskilled or semiskilled job, and to remain in ignorance of history, literature, a knowledge of either national or international affairs, indeed of everything felt to be comprised in a humane education. Worse still, there was an indifference amounting almost to hostility to "culture." The churches were alarmed at flagging interest; mass entertainment and cheap journalism appeared to be winning an easy victory over all the interests and organizations designed to enrich leisure or encourage creative activity. Such a view was, no doubt, unduly gloomy, both in idealising a past in which leisure had been almost nonexistent and in neglecting a great increase in healthy recreations and hobbies — walking, mountaineering, gardening, games of all sorts, the reading of cheap editions of good literature, the radio audiences for serious programmes, and much else. But danger was and is real, and has been only recently re-emphasised by social

surveys^o revealing a terrifying aimlessness and cynicism widely spread at many levels of social life. Even in the universities, the very guardians of humane culture, the same alarm began to be felt. More and more undergraduates seemed to regard a degree course simply as a means of acquiring a technical qualification for a job and left the university — and particularly the modern universities where the lack of a residential system, a lower tutor-student ratio, and a higher proportion of technological courses made it harder to transmit liberal influences — as “technical barbarians.”

Diagnosis was differently expressed. To some thinkers it was the divorce between town and country which lay at the root of the cheap sophistication and shallow values of urban life. To others it was the destruction of any real sense of community, so hard to achieve in the amorphous urban sprawl. To others, the weakening of religious faith and the consequent purposeless drifting, dangerously liable to be captured and captivated by the rigid purpose and discipline of Communism. The situation, requiring a more detailed analysis than can be given here, is familiar. Its cure could not be effected in the schools, for it is essentially an adult problem: the churches could not find the word of power: adult education seemed unable to gain momentum. It was, indeed, chiefly in the field of social reform that one trouble — the feeble sense of community — was to some degree tackled in the '30's. It was a period of establishing institutions on a large scale — clinics, community centres, youth clubs, the National Council of Social Service, Rural Community Councils, Homes and Hostels, Parent-Teachers Associations, holiday camps, group travel abroad. This development represents both a perception that community life must be established more strongly, and an attempt to find in public institutions, often supported by public money, a focus which would replace the older pattern

^o e.g. “English Life and Leisure” by Seebohm Rowntree and George Lavers. “Labour, Life and Poverty” by Professor Ferdinand Zweig.

of family, village, squire and church which was so largely broken. An educational landmark in this period was the Training and Physical Recreation Act 1937 which gave local authorities wide power to provide for purely recreative interests, including such activities as dancing or amateur dramatics in their Evening Institutes and Colleges.

The war not only administered a powerful shock in the educational field but provided some new experience and experiment. The first shock came with the evacuation of millions of urban families and children into villages. Two worlds were forcibly rubbed together – the rural shocked and sometimes disgusted by urban habits, the urban bored, lonely, ignorant in country surroundings, lost without shops, cinemas, fish and chips, lighted streets, football match or Palais de Danse. The second shock lay in the educational poverty of the men in the draft, ignorant of public affairs, totally ignorant of international issues, a prey to boredom. Almost as a matter of military necessity, to sustain morale and strengthen purpose, the Services developed a huge educational program for the common soldier, and based it largely on the informal method of the discussion group, led by a junior officer who was supplied with an admirable series of “briefs” on social and international topics by the Army Bureau of Current Affairs. A.B.C.A. was not an unmixed success. Too often the discussion leader was himself unsympathetic or ignorant, the group bored. None the less, its successes proved the possibilities of informal approach, and, particularly in isolated situations – the Burma jungle or the P.O.W. camp – quite astonishing results came from apparently unpromising human material – plays, discussion of poetry, painting groups, handicrafts, philosophy. It was natural to draw conclusions. First, there was the rediscovery of what should never have been forgotten – that the ordinary man, however uneducated, is capable of intense response if approached rightly and has a far wider range of possible interests and a far deeper need to satisfy them than he himself

knows or than educators have been able to call out: the implication here was a criticism of the methods of approach of civil adult education. Next, that the pre-existence of a group with some common interest or purpose and tied together by some kind of familiarity or friendship paves the way for education: the implication here is to pay more attention to the vocational group, in factory or union or profession, and to consider again the possibilities of a shared period of residence, which creates a friendly group so fast. Thirdly, there was confirmation of a view already gaining ground in the schools, that the regime of blackboard and chalk must give way to an approach based on interest, imagination and practical activity.

Dangers — over-technical education, divorce of town and country, weakened sense of community — and lessons alike gave a great emphasis to two new movements in adult education — a belief in the cultural value of hobbies and personal interests intelligently developed, and a growing and almost wistful admiration for the Folk High Schools of Denmark and Sweden, where somehow a quite considerable proportion of ordinary citizens seemed both to want and to be able to take no less than five or six months of residential education in humane subjects and particularly in the literature, history and religion of their own country. No doubt the writings of Sir Richard Livingstone did more than anything to focus British attention here, though 20 years earlier George Cadbury had founded a small residential college at Fircroft as a result of inspiration from a visit to Denmark. But now the time seemed to be ripe. The Ministry of Education was encouraging expansion and experiment. By chance, there was a large number of fine country houses, now too big for private dwelling, on the market at knockdown prices; the Services confirmed the exceptional value of the residential course in the Formation Colleges established to offer a month's course to men on demobilisation. Projects for training colleges for school-teachers, or for servicemen wishing to farm, came thick and fast. What could

have been more natural for an enterprising Local Education Authority, spurred on by a consciousness of the needs of the times, backed by public idealism about the post-war world, supported by educational theory and confirmed by the experiences of the Services, than to make the experiment of a new Residential College for Adult Education, a first step on a road which might lead to an achievement comparable with the Scandinavian model? The efforts of A.B.C.A. were to be continued into peace time civil life by the new Bureau of Current Affairs, backed by Carnegie grants and aiming at spreading the discussion group to factory, bus-depot, and canteen: the Evening Institutes and Colleges prepared to enlarge and humanise their programs: the residential ideal must not fail of sponsors.

Thus it was not from any uniform instruction by the Ministry of Education, or in accordance with any one blueprint, but from the general ferment of ideas and social aims that the movement to provide adult colleges passed from theory to experiment. The diversity of motive is apparent in the initial design of half a dozen of the new institutions. First, there was the Services tradition. At Lentonhurst, near Nottingham, under the auspices of Nottingham University, an unbroken series of residential courses for servicemen got under way and still continues. At Ashridge, under Lt.-General Sir Bernard Paget, the existing college founded under the Bonar Law Trust revised and refreshed its program of courses mainly concerned with current affairs, national and international. At Pendley Manor in Hertfordshire a schoolmaster, struck by the possibilities of informal discussion and common cultural activities experienced during the war, opened his own large house as a centre for short residential courses mainly of music, literature, and all the arts and crafts. At Urchfont Manor, in Wiltshire, the motive was to provide a humane counterweight to a technical civilisation, and it was the County Council there which opened a small manor house as a college offering a wide variety of humane and philosophic sub-

jects. In Warwickshire the initiative came from a Rural Community Council, anxious to start some centre where a bridge could be built between townsman and countryman, and their college, Westham House, was launched after a national appeal for funds sponsored by Mr. Antony Eden, the Member of Parliament for the County. In Kent, it was the Y.M.C.A., generously assisted by the County Council, which launched a college in furtherance of the social education of the young industrial worker, installing as first warden a distinguished Chief Inspector of Factories on his retirement. In Staffordshire it was the Local Authority, the Extra-Mural Department of Oxford, and the W.E.A. who collaborated to make the Wedgwood Memorial College at Barlaston into a more direct sequel of the traditional Tutorial and W.E.A. work.

It would be tedious to describe in detail the special variations of initiative and objects which were to give rise to 20 odd colleges in the first seven years after the war and may have increased that number in little over a decade.* Enough is already said to show how spontaneously they seemed to spring up from soil prepared by the thought and experience of the last generation. It is perhaps necessary to guard against the grandiloquent implications of the word "college." Apart from Ashridge, which can accommodate more than 120 residents, these new centres are simply houses, sometimes in the large eighteenth century manner, sometimes simply sizeable Victorian houses. None was specially built for the purpose, none but Ashridge can take more than about 60 resident students, some (such as Urchfont or Westham House) strain their resources with more than 25. The picture is of a house and gardens – sometimes a formal park – with the main rooms devoted to lecture room, library and dining room, the bedrooms divided or screened to take from 2 to 8 students, the staff a warden with one, two, or possibly three tutors, secretary

* Some particulars of each college, showing date of foundation, control, and general objects, are set out in Appendix 1.

and housekeeper. The essence of these centres has been small size, intimacy, and an organisation and equipment simple, provisional, often frankly inadequate. This sense of proportion is not easy to keep for those who have been involved in the excitement of any new social experiment. But it is necessary: it is too early to talk of "national experiments," it is a question of a few new points of light winking in the dark. Probably between 35,000 and 40,000 students altogether will pass through these colleges in 1952; and this figure alone establishes scale.

It may be convenient here to give a brief indication of the nature of the sponsoring authority for the present colleges, with the reservation that in almost every case there are complications in the background which would lead into too great a mass of detail. At present there are 11 colleges primarily sponsored and controlled by Local Education Authorities. These are:—

Attingham Park (Shropshire County Council)

Belstead House (East Suffolk County Council)

Burton Manor (Liverpool, Birkenhead, Wallasey, Bootle, Cheshire and Lancashire)

Dillington Hall (Somerset County Council)

Grantley Hall (West Riding of Yorkshire)

Knuston Hall (Northamptonshire County Council)

Missenden Abbey (Buckinghamshire County Council)

Urchfont Manor (Wiltshire County Council, to which Hants, Berks, Dorset, Oxfordshire are associated)

Wansfell (Essex County Council)

Wedgwood Memorial College (Staffordshire County Council)

Wrea Head (North Riding of Yorkshire)

The appropriate University is closely associated with Attingham (Birmingham) Burton (Liverpool) Urchfont (Bristol) and the Wedgwood College (Oxford). Colleges primarily sponsored by Universities are four: —

Lenton Hurst (Nottingham)

Holly Royde (Manchester)

Madingley Hall (Cambridge) — not yet in full operation as an adult college.

Primrose Hill (Birmingham)

Primrose Hill, of which the full title is "Birmingham University Centre for Continued Studies" is not strictly comparable with the others, since it almost exclusively runs advanced postgraduate refresher courses for professional people, although a limited number of more general adult courses are offered. Lenton Hurst is still almost wholly occupied by work for the Services.

Thirdly, some colleges owe their origin to some group, or Trust, specially formed for the purpose. In this group: —

Ashridge (Hertfordshire) in which funds from the Bonar Law Trust are controlled by a special Education Committee which offers courses.

Cumberland Lodge, started by a group concerned to give a wider Christian and philosophic background to undergraduates (chiefly of the modern universities) in a house in Windsor Park provided by the Queen Mother and with funds specially raised.

Westham House (Warwickshire), launched by a national appeal and now closely associated with Warwickshire County Council, Coventry City and Birmingham University.

Fourthly, three colleges were started by purely personal enterprise — Pendley Manor (Hertfordshire), Stoke House (near Bletchley, Staffs) and Moor Park (near Horsham, Sussex). Stoke House, started by an R.A.F. Wing Commander to teach practical crafts and the Arts has had great difficulty in keeping open. Moor Park, started by a Canon in the Church of England to give religious education is also in some financial danger. Pendley Manor, after a most successful six years of work, is at present

negotiating for a new status with either industrial or Local Authority backing.

Finally, two colleges owe their origin directly to a national organisation — Denman College, founded and financed by the National Federation of Women's Institutes, with some initial help from the Carnegie U.K. Trust; and the Y.M.C.A. College, Broadstairs, Kent, founded by the Y.M.C.A. and assisted by a most generous annual grant from Kent County Council.

III.

The Development of Policy

“THE TEST OF real and vigorous thinking, the thinking which ascertains truths instead of dreaming dreams, is successful application to practice. Where that purpose does not exist, to give definiteness, precision, and an intelligible meaning to thought, it generates nothing better than the mystical metaphysics of the Pythagoreans or the Vedas.”

This statement of J. S. Mill is tough but salutary. The general ideals and purposes which gave rise to the new residential colleges have been briefly sketched; it now remains to see how they stood up to the practical test.

The central, inescapable problem appears at once. How is the ordinary adult, man or woman, to find time to attend a residential course? The pattern of industrial life involves, for the great majority of men, continuous paid employment for 50 or 51 weeks in the year, with three or four short public holidays and either one or two weeks of paid holiday, usually taken in the late summer. There are indeed exceptions—the schoolteacher or university population, with long vacations; the self-employed if they can afford irregular holidays; the retired. Among women, there are the unmarried or widowed who are not in full time employment, or those married women who can make some arrangement to have husband or children cared for while they are away. Otherwise, the adult is normally only free at weekends and perhaps in the summer holiday if he breaks the usual practice of taking the family to the country or to the sea.

It is clear that to rely on the exceptions will not keep a college continuously working through the year. Even if every one of 52 weekends is used—this was done at Pendley Manor in

1948—this only accounts for two sevenths of the working year. There is a yawning gap from Monday to Friday, in November or February or May, when the working population of modern industrial countries is, very naturally, at work.

In mere logic, there are only two solutions to this problem. Either the potential student must throw up his job to come to a college, or he must be released or seconded by his employer. If there is one major criticism of the founders and administrators of the new colleges, it is that, in their zeal for a new idea and their passionate belief in its value, they would not face this sharp issue squarely and continued—as they do to this day—to offer most attractive courses which unfortunately no one in normal employment could attend.

Quite apart from educational theory, this issue bears directly on the length of the course to be offered. No one is going to throw up a job for a week or month's education. If voluntary attendance of that type is expected, nothing less than six months or a year will really make it worth while. Here, then, was the issue between Britain and Scandinavia—to attempt the Scandinavian pattern of six month courses, or to accept a less ambitious plan.

The precedents in Britain were in fact for the long course, even longer than the Danish 5 months. There was already a handful of colleges offering courses of a full year or even (at Ruskin) two years. But there was no sign that the movement to provide such colleges was likely to grow. Ruskin College, Oxford, was specially placed, being supported almost wholly by Trade Union funds. The Cooperative College, Loughborough, was again the creation of a single organisation and giving a largely commercial education in its own field. Of the colleges set up by the Cadbury Trust (Avoncroft, Woodbrooke and Fircroft) Avoncroft had a special agricultural bias and had moved, by 1939, very near to a technical agricultural college, and Woodbrooke was for theological training. There remain Fircroft, pro-

viding humane studies for about 30 students, Hillcroft in Surrey doing the same entirely for women, the Catholic Workers College in Oxford, Coleg Harlech in Wales* and Newbattle Abbey in Scotland. Of these Fircroft and Coleg Harlech are at present tending to become a preparatory course for people hoping to enter a University; Newbattle Abbey (started in 1938 and reopened after the war) is having acute difficulty in finding students, having no specific organisation behind it which will both find and finance entrants; and the Catholic Workers College, catering for only about 15 students, has been limited by its resources to a very modest level of existence and without any real likelihood of expansion. There were special origins to each of these colleges, and although their work has often been of high value, their diversity of aims, the need for considerable special financial backing, and the inelastic nature of student demand did not encourage the idea of making them the model for any general expansion of educational experiment. Moreover, the great expansion of the Universities, universal secondary education, and the extension of grants from public funds to any boy who shows sufficient ability at school to benefit from a University course is rapidly reducing the number of people with exceptional ability who miss the natural outlet for it—a university course.

There was one precedent for the college offering shorter courses. The Bonar Law Memorial College, Ashridge, had been running weekend, one week, four week and eight week courses since 1929. Perhaps because of its association with a political party, perhaps because men's eyes were not then open to the possibilities, its example had not been followed in the 30's. Residential adult work remained a tiny fraction of the total effort and one which showed little sign of growth. It was confined almost entirely to long courses of a year or more.

There are certainly differences in social and economic pattern which help to explain the slow development in Britain of a scheme which has so thrived in Denmark or Sweden. Scandi-

navian farming, depending largely on animal husbandry in covered buildings through a long winter, gives some chance of reducing the labour force from October to March. The pattern of small holdings on a family basis involves a far lower proportion of paid labour to family labour—and the family may spare and finance a son for general education where an employer would not. But perhaps the most important factors are that the Danish schools sprang up as part of a patriotic and religious crusade at the time of German expansion and were long sustained by it; and that the tradition has had 70 years to grow—not without great initial difficulties—and is by now a recognised part of national life.

These factors alone go far to differentiate the British situation. But there are educational and other social arguments which must be taken into account. A course of one year or two years obviously has a very deep educational impact. But, particularly if it is conducted on an academic and intellectual pattern, it will place the manual worker in a strange situation. He will be far more intellectually sophisticated than his old workmates, and may find it hard to settle down as their equal, nor will he necessarily be elected their leader—the very gap which has developed will be often a handicap. On the other hand, without a University degree he will lack the paper qualification for many professions and may find it hard to gain entrance to them. The Catholic Workers College probably best achieved one solution of this problem by emphasising as the purpose of its existence an education not designed to improve economic status or intellectual knowledge but to make sense of the world through the application of Christian principles to knowledge and thus to make a fuller man in any walk of life; most of its students return to their old work, though some rise far beyond it. Ruskin has come to achieve the other possible solution, most of its students moving into social, Trade Union or political careers. Avoncroft, with a strong technical element in training for farm-

ing, was before the war approximating more and more towards an agricultural training college than an adult college offering a general "humane" education, and the same is true of the Co-operative College in its own field of commercial studies. But in the general humane colleges the real core of students are the exceptional cases—men or women who are socially misplaced, or with exceptional ability which by accident, illness, or poverty did not find its natural avenue of university training, late developers, people of real or imagined artistic tendencies who feel ill-adjusted to the commercial or industrial job in which they find themselves. That there should be an avenue for such people to get what they long for—a year of study—is certainly of importance. If some are disappointing, some are the salt of the earth; and in a period of growing uniformity exceptional provision for the exceptional case is perhaps more valuable than ever. But, in terms of national culture, this is a marginal field. For better or for worse, the new colleges set out to meet something much nearer to the general case; and for that reason a short course, compatible with virtually unbroken employment, had to be the aim. This in fact implied courses of a maximum of two weeks, which was generally felt to be as long as employers would grant leave or as holidays would allow.

Even then considerable differences in policy appeared at once. Some heads of colleges^o accepted continuity of employment as an inescapable fact, and accordingly based their program on the provision of weekend meetings and a few longer courses in the holiday period. Missenden Abbey, for example, ran for nearly two years on a part time basis, with no full time Warden, sending over staff from the County Education headquarters to open up at weekends; and a rather similar scheme was adopted at Wrea Head. Most of the colleges of this persuasion, however, decided to fill the Monday to Friday gap partly by "letting" the college to outside organisations for conferences or training

^o Most carry the title of "Warden," which will be used in this Paper.

courses, and partly by using it for the domestic purposes of the Local Education Authority—training teachers, courses for youth organisers, courses concerning retarded children, and similar purposes. Belstead House in Suffolk and Dillington in Somerset were both founded with this general intention, and Belstead in particular has run courses for more than 500 local teachers. Attingham Park in Shropshire, while accepting a few of such courses, followed a policy of very short events throughout the week including one day visits by women's organisations or evening concerts. In this case it was felt that an opportunity to spend a day in a fine eighteenth century house and park, combined with a short talk from the warden, would stimulate interest and gradually turn the college into a place of cultural resort for the surrounding county.

Other colleges, of which Urchfont Manor in Wiltshire or Burton Manor in Cheshire are examples, took an opposite view. Here the wardens were convinced firstly that the real value of residence is only felt after the first two or three days and increases steadily up to about the fifth day, when friendships are being formed and the group, friendly, self-confident and relaxed, can set about their subject with a strength and frankness which is hardly conceivable on the first day. Secondly, they believed that the new colleges must establish themselves as teaching organisations, with something of their own to contribute, rather than merely the venue for others to carry on their work, and for this reason "lettings" were to be regarded as exceptional. Finally—a fact confirmed by all wardens—a very rapid succession of short courses, in which each new group must be greeted, thawed, got to work, and despatched, is extremely exhausting to warden and staff, who are continually putting out the special effort needed by a new collection of shy strangers. This view, with much to commend it, had still to come to terms with the employment situation; and the wardens concerned set themselves the task of chiselling out a place for residential education in the

national structure of life by a vigorous onslaught on employers to grant short leave from work. It was largely from those colleges which were determined to run longer courses that the first—I believe very significant—experiments in running semi-vocational courses for industrial and administrative personnel originated.

After four or five years of experience and experiment it is becoming clear that almost all the colleges have gravitated or been driven to a compromise position. The “weekend” colleges, seeing the success which could be achieved in semi-vocational mid-week courses, have increasingly adopted them, running programmes of which the usual pattern is a four-day vocational course from Monday evening to Friday morning, followed by a “cultural” course for the general public running from Friday evening to Sunday evening. The larger colleges aiming at longer courses, such as Burton Manor or Grantley Hall, may run a continuous 2 week or 1 week course for a group of 20 to 30 industrial personnel and bring in another overlapping group of 20 or 30 students at the weekend on such subjects as English literature, art, travel, natural history. The smaller units, such as Urchfont, have persevered with the conception of a 1 week or 2 week course as the main policy, but have squeezed an increasing number of weekends or half weeks into the program. It may be noted that, particularly where a college is run directly by a Local Authority, and must therefore have its income renewed yearly by the vote of an elected committee, pressure of public opinion will have a considerable effect on policy; and there is considerable pressure for recreative weekend courses from men and women whose employers refuse any concession, whose family circumstances prevent a longer absence from home, or who in any case are only interested in an enjoyable weekend rather than a fortnight’s course of serious study. How far the new colleges should bow to this demand is a problem of democratic leadership which different people will decide differently.

There have been many ingenious variations of pattern. Holly Royde (Manchester) has tried a residential evening course at which the group goes off to work in the morning and, returning to the college by about 5.30 or 6 p.m., settles down to an evening's program of lectures. Attingham and Urchfont have tried "family" courses in which a special effort is made to look after children so that parents (usually so cut off from this kind of activity until children are grown up) can spend a week together on the course. The Wedgwood Memorial College has tried serial weekends, in which the same group return for, say, the second weekend of every month from October to March. But in general the pattern is clear. It is a combination of weekend courses of popular appeal and mid-week or longer courses which, involving release from employment, are almost always of a vocational or semi-vocational character.

It is clear that there are considerable educational implications both as to the content and value of the short weekend as contrasted with the old pattern of evening meetings on a set syllabus lasting for one, two or even three winters, and as to the vocational approach, as contrasted with the old strictly "humane" tradition. These will be considered in the following chapters. But, first, it is important to consider the origin and nature of the vocational courses: for even a superficial glance down the programs of half a dozen colleges, selected at random, will show courses for foremen, librarians, teachers, dairymen, police, probation officers, clerks, magistrates, hospital administrators, local government officers, nurses, graduate engineers, apprentices, youth organisers, domestic science teachers, and many more callings and ranks in industry, distribution and social service. What has led to all this activity? For although the new colleges have themselves done something, out of their own necessities, to stimulate it, it is quite certain that they were knocking on a door already half open.

On the industrial side the reasons are two. Full employ-

ment has of itself put a severe pressure on all employers to make the best of their human material, a pressure hardly felt when there was a queue at the factory gate eager to step into the job of anyone, at any level, who did not make the grade. Why take the trouble to give special help to a moderate employee when there may be two first-class men waiting outside? But when a good foreman is hard to find, a biologist almost unobtainable, even a satisfactory labourer very welcome, there is much more incentive to find and train within the works. Secondly, there has unquestionably been a major change in management's attitude to men, partly moral partly almost technical. More and more managements are genuinely concerned to make a factory life a reasonably satisfactory community (rather than a scene of battle), where a man can develop what capacities he has to the full; to deny this humane motive is a cheap cynicism. Simultaneously, "scientific management," increasingly a field for the social psychologist, has put ever greater emphasis on group relationships and "worker-satisfaction" as key factors in mere efficiency and output, and many managements are moved by science and efficiency who might have scorned the moral approach. Both motives, often indistinguishable, have led to a proliferation of training courses, particularly for supervisory and managerial grades. The Administrative Staff College, established in 1948 at Henley and running 3 month residential courses for middle grade of management, represents the most technical approach to this problem. But individual firms and groups in industry have been starting a great range of shorter courses, chiefly but not exclusively for supervisors, in which the main aim has been to test and develop qualities of leadership, to generate a new understanding of management problems, to inculcate a new attitude to the handling of men. We find United Steel Companies running a series of 3 week residential courses for supervisors in a Yorkshire hotel: Unilever doing the same in London; the National Coal Board sending men for 2 week courses at Newbattle

Abbey; firms sending young managers to a 3 month course at Cheshunt College, Cambridge; young workers sent to the Outward Bound school at Aberdovey (Merionethshire); foremen sent to 3 week residential courses at Leicester Technical College; courses run by the Institute of Personnel Management, the British Institute of Management*, the Industrial Welfare Society, and the British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education. It is probably true to say that in every week of the year some such course on "The Human Factor in Industry," "Communications in Industry," "Foremanship," "Joint Consultation" etc. is being run and at peak periods dozens and scores in the same week. Needless to say, the new residential colleges are extensively used, either offering their own courses (where the warden has industrial experience or sympathies) or letting the college to a firm or group of firms for the purpose. Burton Manor runs a continuous series of such courses throughout the winter: but many others (Ashridge, Grantley, Holly Royde, Pendley, Urchfont and the Y.M.C.A. College at Broadstairs) have made them a feature of their programs.

The needs and motives in the social services, public administration, and the public utilities, are perhaps more varied and complex. It is familiar that there has been in Britain both a weighty increase in the administrative and social service, attributable to "planning," control of material resources and the character of the "Welfare State," and a considerable centralisation, typified by the removal of powers from local to central government, a National Health Service, nationalisation of Coal, Gas and Electricity, Railways and Road Transport, central negotiation by huge Unions and Employers' Confederations, and in other and wide fields of national life. A threefold educational need results. There are completely new jobs to staff—secretary of a Committee managing a group of hospitals, for example—and the staff must be trained, and trained as adults, to fill them.

* Founded in 1948. The other institutes date from before the war.

Secondly, there are new relationships to be taught; a private road haulier, owning ten trucks, suddenly finds himself a small cog in a nationalised service, and he has to be re-educated, in relation to authority, to the public, and to his erstwhile competitors who are now colleagues or perhaps inferiors. Finally, in the broadest political sense, there is an even more profound task. Britain thinks of herself as a democracy. But the tendencies which have been operating for 75 years towards centralisation in industry, the world-wide movement for social control, be it a New Deal or a Welfare State, and the mechanistic outlook which tends to promote social ends by creating organisations and mechanisms rather than through the individual and the family—these influences together have produced a system which can only be saved from becoming a self-evident bureaucracy by the quality and attitude of the civil servants and administrators who run it. We are fumbling for a method of decentralising and democratising the very system which we have been, and still are, busily creating. Education, an education of the adult in the social relationships and purposes of his job, is one answer and possibly the only answer. It is from these roots that spring the courses for administrators, officials, social workers and committee men which are multiplying today. It is not only the nationalised undertakings which are running training colleges or sending groups to the residential colleges: the same influences are sending government and local government officers, members of Joint Industrial Councils, Welfare Officers, Personnel Managers and a host of others to courses, conferences and Summer Schools all over the country. Once again, the residential colleges play a considerable part. A striking example of the way in which new ideas in psychology and social medicine, new conceptions of management, and new types of social service have come together is provided by twin residential units started by Dr. Ling (with some aid from American funds) at Roffey Park in Sussex. The first unit was a Rehabilitation Centre, designed for industrial personnel

recommended there by factory medical officers. The second development was the establishment of a residential training college, in a neighbouring building beautifully converted, which runs courses on human problems in industry for industrial supervisors, courses for industrial nurses and courses for Rehabilitation Officers of the Ministry of Labour, under a principal who holds a Lectureship in Human Relations, financed by Messrs. Boots of Nottingham. The Rehabilitation Centre is now assimilated into the National Health Service under one of the Regional Hospital Boards; the industrial centre remains independent.

Thus the need of the residential colleges to find a means of release for adult students to attend a residential course of at least a week has chimed most remarkably with an expansion of adult industrial and social training which was gathering its own momentum very rapidly after the war. But it would be quite unwarranted to assume that this development is assuredly good. While the colleges may have a great opportunity, they also run a perilous risk—a risk of losing their independence and becoming a mere tool of industrial training or administrative bureaucracy. It is one argument of this Paper that vocational courses can be humane in the deepest sense: but there is no shadow of doubt that, in the wrong hands, they can be killing to the spirit, a vehicle of petrified administrative techniques and bogus social science.

IV.

Vocation and the Humanities

It is in some ways strange that the new colleges, many of which were founded with the express intention of counteracting the utilitarian emphasis of education and culture, should so soon find themselves running vocational courses. Mill's test of successful application to practice has been found a very stringent one, as is always the case with social ideals. Is this to be read as a capitulation, ideals bargained away for a supply of students without which the colleges might have had to close their doors? There is no escape from this question; for beyond all doubt many of the courses now running are not within the traditional concept of "the humanities." Moreover, many of the wardens who entered this work full of the ideals, whether Vedic or not, of the Tutorial tradition, have been subconsciously worried in accepting work with so strong a vocational tinge; yet if the work is to be done well, it must be done with the full excitement of teaching Shakespeare and with the full conviction that its value and its demand on the imagination of tutor and student is as high. New institutions cannot grow on lukewarm convictions or disillusioned opportunism. Quite bluntly, either the colleges have abdicated from their real task or the definition of the humanities has gone far astray. In putting forward a suggestion that it is our tradition of thinking about the humanities which is at fault, I am aware such an argument will rightly be most strictly tested. There is in any case a paradox to be resolved. On the one hand, we are faced, beyond any shadow of doubt, with a civilisation "inhumane" in a high degree. Let Sir Richard Livingstone* speak:—

* Address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1936.

"Some people may feel that the cultural subjects are unsuitable for the masses. That is a possible view. But to hold it is to accept the most ruthless of class systems, to say that men differ not only in degree but in kind, and that the majority are incapable of studies without which there can be no intelligent idea either of the universe or of the greatness of the human spirit. If the majority of the electorate are incapable of these studies, we must either abandon democracy or resign ourselves to be governed by an electorate which can never know what a state should be. Ancient tradition and political instinct may save such a democracy from disaster, but not only will its stability be precarious but its political and spiritual life will be poor. The bad film and the betting news will be its relaxation: the bad press its literature: passion, prejudice, the catchword and the slogan will be its masters.

"To this . . . humanistic studies are the great, perhaps the only antidote . . . They are a perpetual rebuke to the feeble vision and failing faith from which all men suffer and to the self-contented spiritual mediocrity which is a special danger of democracy."

From this statement one might draw the conclusion that nothing less than the direct teaching of cultural subjects, without vocational purpose, could save. But other thinkers have spoken rather differently. A. N. Whitehead¹:—

"The antithesis between a technical and a liberal education is fallacious. There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal and no liberal education which is not technical."

Sir Fred Clarke²:—

¹ "The Aims of Education and Other Essays."

² "Freedom in the Educative Society."

"An adequate philosophy will transcend the popular distinction between the cultural and the vocational."

In assessing the potential value and legitimacy of the vocational work to which the colleges have set their hand we are thus driven to carry the argument to a deeper level and to scrutinize more carefully both the origins of the antithesis between humane and vocational and the effect which this cleavage has had in the British tradition.

In Britain, the conception of a humane education has always had its home in the universities. Before the age of science, university education, dominated by the Faculty of Arts, was in a sense vocational. The precedents for statesman, soldier, doctor, churchman, lawyer, the wisdom which could be learnt, lay in the civilisation of antiquity. It was from Aristotle, Thucylides, Cicero, Hannibal, Galen, Justinian or St. Augustine that men could learn the arts of war and politics, the philosophy of nature and man. The gateway to antiquity lay through mastery of Latin and Greek. There were few techniques to be learned in a time when administration was simple and direct, production entirely in the hands of peasant and artisan, trade a mixture of exploration, piracy and gambling. When science began to make a real impact on educated men, it was not mainly in the universities that its revolutionary force was accepted. Dryden and the other members who founded the Royal Society foresaw that a revolution was at hand, not merely in technique but in philosophy, even in the use of language itself. When Dryden speaks of "all those credulous and doting ages from Aristotle to the present day" he not only epitomises the nascent idea of progress; he implies a future education which will no longer take the learned languages and antiquity as its only guide. But those fascinating meetings of scientists, which Pepys felt it proper for an educated man to attend, were held in London, not in Oxford or Cambridge. Although the universities were to produce great scientists, although at Cambridge mathematics outshone the Arts (it had

respectable lineage from Pythagoras and Plato), the universities were very slow to accept such upstarts as chemistry within their definition of a humane study. The difficulty lies largely in failure to distinguish "science" as a search for truth from the embodiment of its results in political, social and economic systems. By the mid-nineteenth century the results of the teaching of science was becoming both clear and abhorrent to the Arts man. It had not only become involved in a welter of technical detail: it was not only possible to learn it purely to obtain a qualification for a job: far worse, it was the midwife of the new industrial society—science was responsible for Mr. Gradgrind, a sin more squalid and unforgivable than responsibility for Darwin or Thomas Huxley with whom at least philosopher or Bishop could argue on common ground. Matthew Arnold exemplifies the distaste and almost the despair of the humane scholar at the world which science and technology was so fast creating. It was in this period that the gap between industry and the universities became most marked.

The Arts Faculties were not to be easily defeated by the rising tide of scientific thought. By the late nineteenth century Oxford had re-established the prestige of the Arts education at a height not reached since the Middle Ages. She had demonstrated that classics and philosophy, as embodied in "Greats," provided an apparently incomparable training for statesman and colonial governor, as it had in the past. It provided also an admirable training for tutors in a particular kind of adult education. The early Tutorial classes, concerned with the immediate social, economic, and political problems of an exceptional group of men and taught by minds trained in dispassionate reasoning on political issues were indeed remarkable. What was harder to see was that they were a special case. It was all too easy to slip to a viewpoint that it was not the quality of mind of the tutor, trained in a way which could not conceivably become general, but the list of subjects normally comprised in an Arts education which

constituted humane education—these subjects would be philosophy and political theory, literary criticism, music and the visual arts, the scholar's study of history: but, in general, not science. Although the great humanists, of whom Oxford produced so rich a group, could see these subjects still as a criticism of contemporary living, it was almost inevitable, in general use, that the subjects should come to be taught, as such, by the kind of academic method in which the tutor himself had been trained—as though the object of adult education were to produce tutors, not wiser men. As adult work reached out increasingly from the political-economic field into literature, history, or art, thus moving away from the worker's daily preoccupations, so the gap between the content of the classes and the content of life grew wider. It was this "subject-list" viewpoint, and the exclusion of vocational interests, which helped to precipitate the division of the heritage of Mechanic's Institutes into technical (of low degree) and humane (of high degree): it was this that bred the peculiar distinction between those who "had culture," and those who had not.

The problem of adult education thus more and more came to be seen as one of transmitting an artificially defined humane culture to wider groups, if necessary in simplified form. Perhaps the most powerful criticism of this very attempt was made by Mr. T. S. Eliot in his "Note Towards a Definition of Culture."^{*} Mr. Eliot points out that culture, as used by the anthropologist, contains much more than academic education—it includes the folk song, marriage customs, gambling habits, the vaudeville as well as the opera, slang as well as poetry. The intellectual critique of the literature, art, and philosophy of modern and ancient cultures, with which an elite class may be concerned, is naturally expressed in a kind of shorthand which is specialised and quite unsuitable for general consumption. The attempt to diffuse it

^{*} Faber & Faber 1948; in U.S.A., Harcourt.

generally will not only debase or distort its content but is liable to bring education itself into contempt. The same criticism was made, in slightly different form, by Mlle. Simone Weil in her profound study of the regeneration of industrial civilisation.*

"To the workman's social condition, as to any other kind, there corresponds a certain particular disposition of feeling. Consequently, there is something outlandish about what has been elaborated by other people and for other people.

"The cure consists in an effort of translation; not of popularisation but of translation, which is a very different matter. It isn't a question of taking truths—of already far too poor a quality—contained in the culture of intellectuals, and then degrading them, mutilating them, and destroying all their flavour; but simply of expressing them, in all their fullness, in a language which, to use Pascal's expression, is perceptible to the heart for people whose feelings have been shaped by working class conditions."

It will, I think, be evident how essentially outlandish elite culture can be to working men. It is not only a question of somewhat unintelligible modern poetry, "difficult" music or modern art. It is a question of Milton's Ode to the Nativity, with its teeming classical allusions; of lectures on Henry James; of attempts to give potted versions of Hobbes or Heracleitus to people who have no more notion of seventeenth century Europe than they have of sixth century Greece. One is struck by the patient wrong-headedness with which adult tutors all over the country have been trying to put across such subjects and the puzzled determination with which their audiences plough through them.

But is this not inevitable? Is there not bound to be a great gulf fixed between the highly literate few and the working many? We are here up against the unsolved problem of the proper

* "The Need for Roots." Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952; in U.S.A., Putnam.

nature of a democratic culture. It is, on the one hand, merely cowardly to argue that elite culture is not transmissible and therefore to do nothing. For, in fact, it is transmitted by devious ways and with a long time lag, and as it seeps through society it grows more and more distorted. Words and ideas coined by Freud fifty years ago are now the currency of the film magazine: the cynicism of intellectuals in the 20's recoils on their head in the "couldn't-care-less" attitude of the adolescent in the 1950's. The educated have surely some responsibility for a less distorted transmission. Yet on the other hand a moment's thought will show that, however democratic society may become, there will always be the few whose business it is to handle the articulate expressions of literary and aesthetic culture and the less intellectual many: democratic culture cannot be elite culture writ in letters 20 feet high. The gap which need not exist, the gap against which this criticism is directed, is a gap in outlook and values rather than in articulate knowledge. There need not and there should not be one small group in society who feel aware of a humane philosophy and regard it as exclusively contained in a certain body of literature, philosophy and art; and another huge group who are cut off from this field of thought, find its expression outlandish, and resign themselves, unconsciously or even aggressively, to a utilitarian view of life as a matter of keeping your job and enjoying yourself as you can.

Some historical idea of how "humane culture" reached this detached and specialized status has been given; there are three or four ways of describing what I believe are the philosophic errors involved. The first, and most important, is the denial of its full honour to work and the working life. By failing to recognise that through a man's work must be expressed much of the highest elements in his nature and much of his relationship to his fellows we have degraded it to a utilitarian necessity. If the humanist today complains of the merely technical outlook of the masses, it was he who first described work and the training

for it as mere technique, and he who looked down on the institutions where such training was given. The source of this attitude lies in the heritage from antiquity. For in the bloodstream of ancient civilisations ran the subtle poison of slavery, a poison which paralyses just that fraction of the philosophic mind which is capable of right assessment of labour. Plato distinguished the *banausic* status of the artisan from the higher humanism of the philosopher, and his view has persisted, despite an interim in the middle ages dominated by a Christian idea of human spiritual equality and a faint afterglow in slightly hypocritical poetry glorifying the simple life and honest toil. The industrial revolution both demonstrated the fatal insensitivity which a society dominated by this conception can show and itself reinforced it. For while in the life of ploughman or craftsman humane values could fairly readily be seen, it was not so with the mechanical hordes in the new factories. A William Morris or a Ruskin might set out to restore to work its honour; but neither could see such a restoration through acceptance and redemption of modern forms of factory labour; rather by rejection and a return to craftsmanship. In brief, a system or a philosophy which cannot see the full sweep and content of the "humanities" within the round of a contemporary working life is a system countenancing slavery and, may be, generating revolt. A culture which does not honour work is like a marriage which does not honour the body: in rejecting, it degrades.

Closely linked is a failure to see the humanities as reached through, rather than despite, the burden of daily life. For we must surely think of a humane education, not as knowledge of certain subjects, but as an approach to any subject which shows the relationship of that subject to the ultimate purposes and values of man as a person and as a member of society. In such an approach we may quote the great writers and thinkers, or point to the great pictures. But we quote Coleridge because he has a truth well expressed, not because it matters that Coleridge ex-

pressed it. Mediaeval society was well aware that the ploughman might know more truth than the learned clerk: in modern times there has been the emphasis on the name and the reference rather than on the truth itself. Truth, too, manifests itself through the particular—in place, here; in time, now; in relationship, to job, marriage, unemployment, sickness. It is through this particularity that the eternal truths must be seen, if they are to be understood. "No man," said Blake, "can tell a truth so that it be understood and not be believed." Truth is understood and becomes our own when we recognise it as the expression of our own experience. To this central chamber of truth, many different doors lead in through many outer courts of experience—through family life as well as through science, through the struggle of a poor reformer as well as through the history of empires. It is too often the illusion of the intellectual that he possesses, in his knowledge of great sayings and their authors, a short cut to the centre and a private key by which he can lead conducted tours of students straight to the heart of things.

It is in this sense that we should understand the hackneyed rule that education must make its approach through the interest of the student. It is often most superficially applied, by the tutor who starts his talk with a reference to mining or textiles (if his audience are miners or weavers) and then by a verbal trick gets on to Wordsworth or Rousseau or whatever named subject he is hurrying to reach. This failure to go through experience is perhaps most seen in efforts to teach citizenship. The group is hurled into "local government," parliamentary procedure, U.N.O. But the first citizenship of most men is a citizenship of a much more familiar group—that complex world of authority and obedience, loyalties and struggles, ambitions, forbearances and adjustments which makes up factory and office life. The struggles of Charles and Cromwell and the Politics of Aristotle are implicit in this microcosm, and the problems of U.N.O. are repeated round the table of negotiation; surely the

approach to a wider and more remote circle of interest and understanding, whether of national or international citizenship, whether of history or political theory, must come through what is known and experienced in all the force of personal endeavour and with real companions and opponents. If vocational education is asking the foreman to ponder and reassess the age-old problems of leadership and power, if it is asking the hospital administrator to balance "efficiency" against the needs of a frightened patient, if it is posing questions of democracy to the official of a monopoly industry, surely this is education as humane as the study of Rousseau and more likely to be "perceptible to the heart for people whose feelings have been shaped by working-class conditions."

Thirdly, the virtual exclusion of technology from the list of subjects through which it might be possible to make a humane appraisal of society and of its purposes has been a root cause of trouble (humanists often forget the technical grind of learning Greek!). Technical colleges have been widely valued for doing a useful, but not a humanising job; and most accepted that valuation. Only with the gravest misgivings, to the accompaniment of horrific warnings about Degrees in Cosmetology allegedly conferred by some American colleges, and only under some economic pressure have British universities widely admitted technological degree courses. It is significant that the new University at Stoke-on-Trent should have put its one year's "general" education *before* the three years of more specialised and perhaps vocational study—a tacit denial that the latter, once its pure technique was mastered, could also have led to Parnassus. But the teaching of a technologist in wool or rubber or oil could have included—could include—the origin of the material, the problems of Malayan peasants or Australian population, the future relationships between Western industry and the primary agricultural producers, population problems, the exhaustion of soil and minerals—

in a word a dip into human ecology in its widest sense rather than a grim sweating to acquire just enough physics and biochemistry to pass a test.

The technical study of agriculture in particular leads out into almost every great field of human thought—biology and evolution, sociology, economics, politics, philosophy. That such opportunities should have been missed is the tragedy of despising vocation. Nor is the Oxford recipe of the humanities any longer adequate even for its self-chosen task, for it is no longer a question of training colonial governors but colonial ecologists and engineers. The “gentleman” of yesterday took little part in production and needed little technique to administer. But the days are gone when Andrew Jackson could say: “The duties of public office are so plain and simple that any man of intelligence can readily qualify himself for them.” A classical education would serve then; but it will not serve now without considerable additions. Moreover, science is regarded with almost superstitious respect by the man in the street. He is often prepared to admit and discuss the mysterious element in the human being if he is told that it exists by a biologist or psychiatrist, but would be highly suspicious if it came from parson or poet. Criticism of “narrow specialism” and “mere technology” deeply alienate great numbers of people, who by necessity have a technical training, are proud of and interested in their technique, and not impressed by the civilisation which a religious and humane outlook, which they are told to achieve, succeeded in producing in the past. To the working man, in a half-formulated way, science is among the forces which liberated him from the aristocratic regime of church and landowner.

The failure to honour work, the failure to accept culture as a quality of daily life rather than a knowledge of the past, the failure to accept science fully—these three factors have contributed deeply to the isolation of contemporary humanists from the real tone of industrial civilisation.

But it may be said that in speaking of the humanities as an avenue to a philosophy of life, they are narrowed. Man is not only a social animal concerned with the social problems of vocation and citizenship; he is also an immortal person, capable of delight in the flight of a seagull, a phrase on the violin, the lines of a ship. It may be, says this objector, that the discussion of foremanship will lead to Plato, as it did for Mary Parker Follett; but it will not lead to Bach or Keats. Delight is indeed the finest flower of human life; and an education which forgets it is earth-bound. But in the first place it is not by any means the possession only of those who read poetry or enjoy Bach, nor is it absent if adult educators are not there to give it. There are a host of activities which have for centuries gone on in society which give delight of a high order. The Englishman's garden is one—a part of his life cultivated with an intense love and interest for its own sake. If you talk to many a workman about his own job he will show in the end an aesthetic judgment of design and workmanship which is of no mean quality. Though it is indeed desirable that formal education should lead to new sources of delight in art and literature, this is largely to make what was instinctive into something more conscious—more controlled, more capable of expansion, but more in danger of corruption. We should not forget the elements of poetry, delight and reverence in the passing moments of daily life.

This then, is the last criticism of the current humanist tradition—that the teacher, himself capable of delight in the developed literary and artistic works of the past, is in too great a hurry to pass them on as they stand, without trying to find, in the daily living of his audience, the corresponding experience which the artist has expressed and through which he is intelligible. Only the very greatest works, drawn from a universal experience, will stand this test: "Saving exceptions, second-class works and below are suitable for the élite: absolutely first-class works are suitable to the masses," said Simone Weil. There is a rough

sequence in a working life which the intellectual is too apt to forget. After the first period of school and pure technical training, the worker, for the ten years from 15 to 25, is pitchforked into practical life—finding and holding a job, often marriage and founding a home on small resources—while the intellectual is training himself in handling words and conceptions. It may well be that somewhere between 25 and 35, as the worker approaches a more responsible job, the process of broadening which education should achieve should come by giving some wider ideas of the nature of authority and responsibility, of the social and human implications of any job, of the deeper purposes of society. Once this broadening process has been started, it may well lead on into history, literature, art. If we take the concept of "the standard of living," it means at 21 bread and butter and the wage packet. At 30 it may include ideas of status, leisure, civic responsibility; at 40 and thereafter it may deepen into a concept of the good life.

To sum up. Vocational adult education may well provide the bridge, which has been so sadly lacking, between the technical working life and the heritage of humane culture.

It is therefore the suggestion of this Paper that the redemption of vocational work is of key importance. For, if the older view prevails, there is the gravest danger that the teaching of the adult in his responsible job (and the training of the college student) will go the way that primary technical training went forty years ago—into a mental compartment labelled utilitarian: that it will be handled by teachers who see in it only a matter of efficient instruction in techniques, be it accountancy or "scientific management": and that believers in humane adult education will continue to wage a losing battle to pass on a literary culture, itself more and more out of harmony with the general tone of responsible life, to a population totally unprepared for it. The expansion of vocational work since the war and the foundation of the new Colleges provides a rare opportunity

for a different and more hopeful start. All will depend on the quality of the teaching. If the tutor can see, through the problems of steel foreman or welfare officer, the wider horizons which must inhere in them: if he can regard "culture" not as a running of the fingers through the gold coins of the past, once currency in men's lives but now apparently outdated; not as a gift from knowledge to ignorance; but as the living answer to living questions—then not only will he rescue the thought of the past from its isolation among intellectuals back into daily currency but he will be sure of a welcome. Experience proves that the ordinary man may at first be puzzled to find that a course, from which he was expecting only practical tips for his job, is sailing out into wider seas of thought; but he will end by an intense gratitude. Somewhere below the conscious level he has had a grumbling hatred of the vast gap between the uninspired practicalities of his job and his occasional vision of ideals. To show him a bridge is to do him the greatest service. For the rescue of vocation back into its place among the humanities, or, as some might put it, the recovery of the unity of life and knowledge, is only the philosopher's jargon for a more simple and vital process—the redemption of industrial life from its present unhallowed condition into something more nearly resembling the service of God.

Quality and Standards

The argument has led to a suggestion that there is an important future for adult education, and especially for the residential colleges, in vocational education, distinguished from technical training in that it is concerned not merely with techniques but the social purposes and relationships of work; and that such teaching should rightly be included in a broadened conception of humane education. This conclusion is subject to a vital condition—that the quality of the work done in this field should in practice bear out the claims which can be made for it in theory. It is therefore necessary to make some attempt to assess the quality of education being given in the residential colleges, or at least to isolate some virtues and defects. Quality is a reflection of the teacher: it varies from college to college, almost from course to course, and therefore eludes generalisation almost entirely. But there are some systems or pressures, arising from the nature of the job, which make it more easy or more difficult for the quality of the teacher to be effective and sustained; and here there are some lessons to be learnt.

The colleges have certain natural advantages, in the mere fact of residence, in environment, and in the small size of the group. Residence not only gives time for leisurely discussion, in a stroll in the garden or by the fire on a winter's night. It gives the warden or tutor an invaluable chance, at meals and in many informal ways, of getting to know something more of the personality of the individual students and of their problems, a knowledge which is of extreme value for his teaching. It gives the somewhat tongue-tied student a chance to establish himself outside the lecture room—as a games player, or even as a clown—and this will increase his confidence at work. It is hardly neces-

sary to labour this point: living together produces a relaxation of barriers which makes adult education ten times easier.

Environment can help too—a house in which food, furniture, flowers, books all show some evidence of discriminating taste makes a deep impact, and one which the student in fact often remembers long after the content of the lectures has been forgotten. Some colleges achieve this sense of cultivated leisure: but in others—not merely through lack of funds—there is still a shabby untidiness or lack of discrimination which betrays the orphaned origin of adult education and casts some doubt on the educational theory which promotes excellent lectures on art appreciation in a room for which a self-respecting housewife would blush. In humanising vocational work these details of environment can make a great difference and it is improvident to overlook them.

Finally, the fairly small size of the group, as it has usually developed, gives a good start to adult work. It is not economic to run a college for 15 or 20 students, which would probably be the ideal number. But most of the colleges do the greater part of their work with groups numbering about 30 or less and dividing into two separate groups whenever numbers are over 35.

The combination of these natural advantages—residence, pleasant surroundings, a small group—provided that the teaching reaches even a respectable standard, makes it almost certain that any group will spend a thoroughly enjoyable few days in a college and will occupy a good deal of its time in fairly intelligent study or listening. The grave temptation, into which probably all the colleges fall occasionally and some far too often, is to be content with just that. Indeed, in a world which has not been too pleasant, it was, just after the war, a real pleasure to see people enjoying themselves, and almost a novelty that they were enjoying education. But it seems necessary to say, with all possible emphasis, that this is not enough. In the first place, it costs

between £8 and £12 per week to keep a student at a college*, and the student usually pays from £4 to £6 for it. There is thus a subsidy of about £5 per week per student, which has to be found by the financing organisation, and in most cases this means from public funds. It is by no means certain that rate and tax payers will indefinitely carry this burden. In the case of men released from industry, the firm is perhaps paying £5 a week to the college for each man; perhaps £10 per week in wages to the man himself. Thus for a firm to send 4 foremen to a 2 weeks course will cost £40 in fees, £80 in wages, and £40 in public subsidy to the college—£160. There is a heavy responsibility on the college to ensure that this fortnight is used to give the very best value, that syllabus and teaching technique should be constantly studied and reviewed, and that purpose and achievement should be carefully analysed. For it happens that over the last few years industry has been able to spend on education particularly easily—costs are written off against “expenses” and simply reduce a margin of profit which would otherwise go, often as to 100%, in profits tax. But this situation will not necessarily continue; nor will industry or other organisations go on supporting colleges, after the first experimental stage, unless there is undeniable evidence of the highest standard of performance. Discussion with industrialists confirms that already some doubts are being expressed about the ability of some colleges to do the job they claim. Moreover, on wider grounds, the maintenance of ideals and standards is critical. It is the occupational disease of all educational movements, when faced with difficulty, to relax standards and popularise; and it is the surest sign of coming failure.

In assessing quality the first problem is the definition of the result desired, the second of measurement. It is clear that the short residential course is to be judged, not by inferior but by different standards from the Tutorial class. The winter's course of

* A note on the finances of the Colleges is contained in Appendix II.

24 sessions lent itself to a methodical progression through a subject, divided into 24 sections, supported by reading and written work. This is essentially an academic standard, and it is the chief pride of British adult education to have carried these classes to such a high level. The residential course is of quite a different nature. Its continuity—for the subject will be discussed at meals, in casual conversation with the tutor, even in bed—makes it possible to develop and maintain a higher temperature, to plunge more and more deeply into a subject without the week's gap which means that each session must start from cold. The impact of new surroundings, fellowship and the frankness it creates, the absence of distractions, all combine to make possible the strongest impact on the student, and as a whole person rather than in purely intellectual ways. A course which can bring to light and really handle the deep emotional background of a group of workers which colours their whole attitude to industrial life and may be built upon the bitter experience of unemployment or injustice is clearly reaching an educational standard valid in its own right. It is not a question of filling notebooks or mastering an outline of Eighteenth Century History, but of the impact on personality and working philosophy. The peculiar virtue of residence lies in the intensity of impact on attitudes rather than on extensive study.

There are therefore certain conclusions to be drawn on the handling of these courses. For the short weekend, there must be the most severe limitation of topic if any depth is to be reached. A course of 7 to 8 periods on the work of a single poet, the study of a single animal, or a narrowly defined social issue—for example, the Borstal system—may yield worthwhile results where the same course on "Modern Poets" or "Crime and Punishment" would result in a vague wandering over unresolved problems. Secondly, in the longer courses, and particularly in vocational work, two essential conditions must be fulfilled. First, a sense of direction. All the colleges run a far wider range of

courses than the resident staff could hope to cover from their own knowledge. All therefore use visiting specialists; and it is not uncommon to find four, or even more, outside lecturers taking some part in a week's course. It is here that lies the vital function of warden or "director of studies" in acting throughout the course as guide and interpreter. It makes a profound difference to a group to have with them an ally who can ask sharper questions of a visiting specialist than they would risk, who can recall earlier sessions, who can bring out the shy and repress the wordy, who can give to the whole course a sense of steady progression towards the heart of a subject, illuminated by contributions from outside experts, but steadily holding its coherence and direction. There is no single factor in the quality of work done which counts even half as heavily as this interpretation and control.

The second condition, which partly flows from the first, is that the redemption of vocational work from mere technicality involves a teacher not only with a rich cultural background but with real insight and sympathy with the problems of working life. Many colleges intersperse "humane" sessions between "technical" ones—music in the evenings, readings of literature, injected talks on cultural or political topics. But the real point lies not in such additions, but by a sense that the whole subject is permeated by a humane philosophy, that the tutor may draw his illustrations on Works Councils from Plato or the New Testament, that his vision of social problems may include a dip into history, psychology, world population, natural science, poetry, art, philosophy. Some sense, however fragmentary, of the unity of knowledge and of the full range of implications behind any human activity is perhaps the most valuable contribution of the adult tutor in breaking down the specialisms and partitions of thought of a technical civilisation.

To the extent that these functions are carried out, and that a real and active response is elicited from the group, rather

than a passive listening, some real quality can be ascribed to the work. Naturally, it would be desirable to find some objective way of measuring the actual achievement of the British colleges in this respect. But unfortunately there are almost insuperable difficulties. In the Tutorial Class there is at least the guarantee that the student has been methodically through a definite course of study, with even the possibility of checking notebooks or written work. With the purely voluntary class there is at least the test whether attendance and keenness is maintained. But with a vocational course, where men may be released, without cost to themselves, to attend a very pleasant week's course, and where the measurement is not of achieved knowledge but impact on attitudes, objective measurement becomes almost impossible. Firms and organisations question returning students: but few are likely to damn a course they enjoyed: differences in subsequent attitude or performance at work are so subtle that they are seldom to be confidently ascribed to attendance at a college. There remains the skilled observation of Her Majesty's Inspectors, who do make periodic investigations of colleges receiving public funds: and it is probably only by this means that some more uniform standard of judgment will be applied.*

Efforts to judge by teaching techniques are not wholly satisfactory. The usual tricks—films, tape-recording, the syndicate method, student "activities" in courses suited to them, exhibitions and demonstrations—are extensively used, although it is probably still true that all the colleges rely too much on lecture-discussion, as the simplest administrative basis for their work. Some colleges are making an extensive use of individual "case studies," and in particular subjects—notably local history and "Clear Thinking"—standards of student activity and practical work are unquestionably high. But, without minimising the contribution which good technique can make, the vital question

* The Reports of Inspections can only be quoted in full.

remains the quality of thought in the design of the course, the skill of control and interpretation, and the intensity of impact on the student.

Here it is necessary to fall back on personal and qualitative judgment based on visits to the colleges and personal experience of the running of courses at Urchfont. It is unfortunately impossible to avoid some serious criticism, not so much of the warden and teaching staff personally as of the system into which they have slipped or been driven. The warden of a new college is in almost all cases responsible ultimately for the administration of the college, the design and syllabus of from 30 to 80 courses in a single year, the recruitment of students, the engagement of lecturers and some proportion of the teaching. While administration, once established, may run almost effortlessly by delegation to a first-class secretary, housekeeper and possibly bursar, recruitment is almost a full time job in itself in the early days of an institution starting from zero. Moreover, almost all the colleges have been hagridden by the spectre of high overheads—staff and estate—which must be matched by high "output." A college costing £12,000 a year to run and totalling 1,000 "student weeks," is faced by a cost per student week of £12. It would probably not increase annual costs by £2,000 to provide the extra food and laundry for 2,000 student weeks, bringing the cost down to £7. In consequence there has been an attempt to maintain a tremendously high volume of work, in which course succeeds course with only a few hours interval: in one case the warden was on duty for 51 weeks out of 52. This pressure has gradually driven the warden out of the lecture room and resulted in cox-and-box arrangements of all sorts in which one tutor is present at some sessions of a course, the warden at others, the outside lecturer left to his own devices at others. The result is to reduce, if not to eliminate, the interpretation and coordinating function on which quality so heavily depends. Further, there is clear evidence of staleness, if not overwork, in most of the colleges. It is

impossible to do the really exacting job which residential adult work demands, from 8:30 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. in what is almost always a 7 day week, for 45 or more weeks in the year and still retain vigour and freshness. There are various possible solutions—to shorten the year, despite finance; to relieve the warden altogether either of teaching or of administration; or to establish an alternating system by which one course is wholly handled by one of the staff, the next by another. At present the very rapid stream of students through the colleges is being bought at the expense of quality—sessions inadequately prepared for, students left to the mercies of a complete stranger who comes by train to lecture for a day and then disappears, staff living on nervous energy and idealism beyond the point of efficiency.

The same pressures endanger the weekend courses. Pressure to meet every variety of local demand, some of it educationally not of great value, results in so wide a variety of work that it is difficult for the college to hold on to any coherent outlook or policy; and the constant repetition of short courses puts such a strain on warden and staff that the temptation is to rely on a smoothly running domestic economy and an outside lecturer to do the job, with no distinctive contribution from "the college," which can become a mixture between a residential conference centre and a weekend hotel. It is at present an open question whether the colleges will degenerate into a mere facility for existing work or will live on to make a real new contribution of their own.

It is perhaps harsh to apply severe critical standards to the early stages of what is admittedly an experiment: and it would be unfair not to pay a very warm tribute both to the idealism and herculean work of many of those who have created a living institution from an empty house and to the extremely high standards of some courses. Students have spoken and written with deep feeling on the effect which a course has had upon them and unquestionably some organisations and industrial man-

agements, sceptical at first, have recognised entirely new possibilities through the work of the colleges. But the tendency to run more and more courses of shorter and shorter duration, to overwork the staff, to admit trivial work and be content with trivial results, is too well-marked to neglect and too dangerous to the future of the colleges to excuse. It was essential that this work should break away from the largely irrelevant "standards" of the Tutorial Class and develop their own virtues. But after five years of experiment it is clear that the time has come for some closer definition of what the new standards are to be and some modification of administration to make their achievement possible. Something can be done by reorganisation of work and staff; something can perhaps be done by an attempt to limit and concentrate the field of work of particular colleges. In the vocational field more could be learned from some older institutions—such as a military staff college—whose work was not relevant to the older types of adult education. Finally, a more conscious effort is needed to train a group of tutors for this special work for which the academic approach of the "pure" university type is no better suited than the very inhumane tradition of teaching in technical colleges. The National Institute of Adult Education, by conferences, the issue of special reports, and the publication of critical articles, is contributing considerably to the evolution of criteria; and an informal annual conference of the wardens of all the colleges has helped in the exchange of information and comparison of results. At present it is not possible to do more than emphasise that the greatest danger to which the whole movement is at present exposed is the wide variation of standards—the bad will easily discredit the good—and an uncritical assumption that the mounting student totals are a sufficient indication of success. A testing time will come; and it is on the quality rather than the volume of their work that the colleges will depend for survival.

Finally, it remains to add a word as to the composition of

the body of students and as to the nature of the subjects taught. As to subjects, perhaps the clearest distinction from most pre-war work is that "problems" rather than "subjects" occupy the greatest space—"Juvenile Delinquency" rather than "Criminal Law;" "Human Relations in Industry" rather than "Economics;" "The Rise of Communism" rather than "Political Theory." This change is in keeping both with the residential method of intensive work on a single issue, and with the idea of approach through the student's experience and social relationships. Outside the vocational field it is probably true to say¹ that subjects concerned with a personal cultural or recreative interest—poetry, music, history, archaeology, nature study, psychology—outweigh the older topics of economics, political theory, and international affairs. Insofar as this is true, it marks the change of function of adult education from an instrument of social emancipation to one in which vocational education and cultural interests which are individual rather than social play a larger part.

Of the students, it is possible to make only two distinctions between the residential colleges and the evening work. Firstly, it is fairly generally admitted in Britain that the average of W.E.A. and Tutorial Class students has for many years been moving towards the clerical and professional groups and away from the manual worker. An analysis of students in such classes in the Manchester area² carried out in 1948-1949 confirmed this tendency. Insofar as the colleges have been running courses for factory personnel they have unquestionably brought a large number of normal workingmen into adult education. Over 90% of the industrial students at Urchfont, for example, had never previously attended any humane adult class. Secondly, the average age is probably lower, though here there is no reliable sta-

¹ Generalisation on this subject is, however, highly dangerous. Subjects voluntarily chosen by students seem to go through waves of fashion and even to vary regionally in a way as yet unexplained.

² "Who were the students?" by W. E. Styler — National Institute of Adult Education, 1950.

tistical confirmation. The Manchester study of W.E.A. classes showed an average age of 36.2 for all students; most colleges claim a lower figure. If any specific cause can be assigned to this difference it is probably to be found in the larger number of young servicemen, industrial apprentices, young teachers, and similar groups at the outset of their career for which the colleges are making special provision, sometimes of a vocational nature. These two facts together are cheering. They imply that the colleges are bringing within educational influence a group of younger working men and women* who were too sparsely represented in the "pure" humane work of the W.E.A. and Tutorial.

Neither statistics nor logical reasoning can quite convey the real quality of life in any one of these colleges, a quality which is in essence a reflection of the attitude, subconsciously expressed, of the warden and the whole staff, reflected in furniture, in routines, in a hundred small details of administration and above all in person. At its best—and it is by the best that the future must be guided—there can be developed, though only for a week, an atmosphere of friendliness, a relaxation of nervous pressures and constraints, a depth of feeling and thought in discussion, a vision of new qualities in life, and a warmth of feeling which seems almost to turn the "college" into a home and the "education" into a group of friends seeking some kind of truth. It is not the least achievement of many of the colleges to make adult education something linked with enjoyment and, for some people, with a happiness which, as Thorez Bodet has said, breaks through the essential loneliness of the individual for a short time and can make leave-taking hard.

* Figures showing proportion of men to women are not available for all colleges. Analysis of nearly 16,000 students in colleges under L.E.As. shows a proportion of 9,300 men to 6,500 women (excluding courses for teachers and youth organisers).

VI.

Perspective

It is early to prophecy the future of these colleges; yet this study would be incomplete without some attempt to relate them to other forms of adult education and to assess their possible field of growth.

The general picture, briefly indicated in the early pages of this Paper, has been of a great increase in provision for recreational pursuits, including both craft hobbies and "cultural" subjects—such as music or literature—pursued for recreation; and of technical training. This additional demand and provision has sent up the enrollments in technical colleges and evening institutes from 1,000,000 in 1936-37 to 2,027,000 in 1949-50.* Simultaneously, with the weakening of the motive of social emancipation, the nature of W.E.A. and Tutorial work has slightly altered, moving also more towards personal cultural interests and away from intense social and political studies. It is clear that with Local Authorities, W.E.A., and universities all in this field (and the time will soon come when their respective functions will have to be re-defined), the case for residential colleges, with their relatively high costs, needs special justification.

There is also the growth of a demand for vocational adult education in industry, in the social services, and in public administration. But equally here the case for assigning a significant proportion of this work to residential centres has to be made out. What are the peculiar and unique advantages of the residential method which would give reasons to face its special difficulties and costs?

* "Social Aspects of Further Education" — National Institute of Adult Education, 1952.

One such reason can be found in the peculiar conditions of rural areas. Although it may be possible to scrape together a class of a dozen people in a village, there are in any rural area people with developed interests—or a desire to develop them—who cannot find others of the same turn of mind within the village or market town. Here a local residential college, by making a journey of 20 to 50 miles worthwhile, can form a centre of interests for a wide area, serving the Natural History groups, the archaeological societies, the individuals with a special interest in literature, social service, or international affairs in a way which no local evening class can achieve. As a cultural centre for rural life the colleges have a part to play in modifying the drift to the towns and rebuilding local and regional culture which has been so heavily hit by the centralising tendencies of industrial communities.

But there is reason to hope that the colleges can fulfill a more important task, and this mainly through their vocational and semi-vocational work. It is true that, at first glance, this might be done in the great technical institutions of large cities. But in the actual circumstances of life this theory does not seem likely to work. Not only is the tradition of teaching in technical institutions unsuited to this work; not only are the buildings utilitarian, if not grim; the effect of residence is not achieved by bringing a group in daily from a hotel, or from their own homes, to a lecture room—a fact which the new universities realise so clearly that they are prepared to spend heavily from much needed resources to build "Halls of Residence." It would be psychologically impossible to force a group of Birmingham foremen to live in a residential college in the centre of the city, with their own home and family 15 minutes away. Both the quality of the surroundings of a residential college and particularly the detachment—the sense of "living on an island," as students have put it—are essential for the full success of a course which is seeking to make men stand back a moment from their

daily round, and from the associations of home and factory and local streets which have so largely conditioned their limited view of the world, and to take a wider and different view. The essential virtue of the resident course is not in putting over techniques, which the technical teacher can do; it is not in the methodical acquisition of some branch of "humane" knowledge, which the Tutorial can do. It is in the impact on attitudes, in the revaluation of social, political and personal philosophy which is not only at the bottom of "citizenship" but of all cultural life.

Thus we come back to the deeper analysis with which this Paper started. There is in the first place the problem of recasting our conception of "the humanities" into a mould which will contain the scientific and technical content of modern civilisation—a mode of thought which will accept and redeem the daily occupations of our world. There is no field of educational work in which so near an approach has been made to this new mode of thought as have some of the residential courses.

Secondly, we are under pressure to clarify our conception of the transmission of "culture" in a democracy. Here again, the new work may be of significance; firstly, by accepting a more realistic view of the stages and sequence of cultural development, as a process working itself out, both personally and socially, through work and family, rather than an acquisition of smatterings of élite culture; and, secondly, by accepting the idea of impact rather than extensive teaching as the function at least of this type of adult work. Even if it were desirable, no civilisation could build up an organisation large enough to give direct instruction in "the humanities" to the whole community. But in fact such an attempt would be wrongheaded as well as impracticable. For the health of a culture depends, not on the volume of explicit teaching, but in the ability of its citizens to select from and recast the daily influences of normal life in the light of some system of values worked out for themselves. Adult education is more like a hormone which should predispose an

organism to take food which is already there than an artificial diet.

That the present experiments are small and shaky is not of great importance. Rarely are great social problems solved by immediate large scale action. More often, almost unnoticed, a small group here, a small institution there, formed by the vague stirrings of a new idea and shaped, almost willy-nilly, by the practical necessities of the day, have proved the seed from which on oak tree has sprung. It was so with the monasteries; it was so of the universities of Europe; it was so of the Danish folk high schools. It would be presumptuous to speak of these little colleges in Britain in such company. But, on one condition, the future is not closed to them. The condition, true of all lasting institutions, lies in the quality of the ideals they can maintain and the quality of the men who serve them. Adult education has suffered, and suffers today, from its low place in national prestige and its inability to attract enough men of first-rate quality. Possibly by a more realistic acceptance of the actual conditions of life, by joining hands with the sources of power in industry and in science, it can step forward more towards the central core of national life and enlist a better share of national ability. If the colleges are to do this, they must come, not as the lackeys of industry, but in their own educational right—in a word, in their devotion to the only true object of education, which is neither the service of the state nor the efficiency of production but the enrichment of men and women.

In 1945, when two or three colleges were running courses for servicemen and two or three of a more general character were projected, it seemed a distant vision to foresee, as some did, a chain of such centres over the length and breadth of the country, each not only a focus and reinforcement of all local humane education but also a centre of experiment in a new approach to the problems of citizenship and the humanising of

industrial culture. Yet today part of that chain is there. There are more links to make, weak ones which may need renewal. But if the men can be found—and such a task should appeal to the younger generation—the chain may be completed before 20 years have passed. There is no moment more dangerous for an industrial civilisation—and this may well apply to the U.S.A.—than the moment of disillusion with the technical and utilitarian quality of its culture. For the temptation is not to open and heal the septic wound which the dehumanising of work has made, but to seek to cover it with dressings and bandages borrowed from civilisations of the past. There is still time for some of these small experiments in Britain to point the way to a more healthy and courageous cure.

APPENDIX I

SOME NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL SHORT TERM COLLEGES

The following notes and figures concerning the work of the colleges should be taken as a rough guide to scale and amount of activity rather than as accurate statistical material. Not all the colleges make available any exact division between courses run by the college and courses run by outside organisations; nor is there any hard and fast line, for in many cases courses are jointly conceived and executed. Not all colleges make a firm distinction between resident students and local students who come in by the day, nor is there any common basis of statistics on which there is uniformity of practice. As far as possible the figures showing annual total of students refers to resident students only. In some cases the number of non-resident students is considerable and at Attingham Park it exceeds the number of residents.

Under the heading "sponsorship" the authority primarily responsible for the finance and control of the college is mentioned. A great number of the colleges have, however, a special governing body on which representatives of many local organisations may sit in addition to members from universities, industry, agriculture or educational organisations. In many cases this governing body acts primarily in an advisory capacity on educational policy while the detailed financial and administrative control is handled by a smaller executive committee responsible to the financing authority. In almost every case the warden is given a wide discretion both in the design and conduct of courses.

The Administrative Staff College at Henley, and the Roffey Park Institute at Horsham have not been included in the general list of colleges since both are specialised in industrial education. It is perhaps necessary to mention that there are a number of residential centres which do not provide their own programme of courses but are extensively used for conferences and courses up and down the country. These include Brunswick Residential Centre, Derbyshire; Debden House, East Ham; Cowley Manor Residential Centre, Gloucestershire; Lodge Hill Residential Centre, Sussex, Edengrove Residential Centre, Westmoreland; Claines Oakfield Residential Centre, Worcestershire;

Glyn House Residential Centre, Ewell, Surrey; Dyffryn Residential Centre, Cardiff; and Morpha Lodge, Rhyl, Flintshire. All the foregoing are either maintained or assisted by Local Education Authorities. They do not, of course, include the large number of conference centres maintained by industry or by other private organisations in the community, nor are any special training institutions included (for example theological colleges, Service and pre-Service training, teacher training colleges, etc.).

Mention should perhaps be made of Cumberland Lodge, a house in Windsor Great Park, provided by Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, which has been established as a centre for courses run primarily for undergraduates in the universities during the vacation with an underlying Christian purpose. The college is under the direction of Sir Walter Moberly and is now running a considerable number of courses varying from weekends to fortnights on social, religious and philosophical subjects.

The figure given for annual total of students is the last available figure for a full year's working provided by the colleges.

ASHRIDGE, Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire.

Opened: 1929. *Capacity:* About 120. *Annual Total of Students:* 5584

Sponsorship: Bonar Law Memorial Trust.

Remarks: Ashridge was opened originally as a college for teaching citizenship and before the war was running a variety of courses from weekends to an annual eight week course on citizenship. Before the war it was closely associated with the Conservative Party. After the war the college has offered a programme of courses very similar to that of the other short term colleges, though with some emphasis on citizenship and international affairs. Its educational programme is free from any party bias. Of the total of the students 2856 came on courses organised by the college and 2728 on courses organised by outside bodies.

ATTINGHAM PARK, near Shrewsbury, Shropshire

Opened: 1948. *Capacity:* 60 *Annual Total of Students:* 2205

Sponsorship: Shropshire County Council.

Remarks: The college was started with the aid of a grant from the Walker Educational Trust. It has a close association with

Birmingham University and a tutor on the Extra-Mural staff of Birmingham is stationed at Attingham. The administrative expenses are carried by Shropshire County Council. A large number of daily visits and evening concerts are run as well as the programme of courses, mainly short. Some longer courses are run in the summer and the college has provided facilities for conferences and training courses, e.g. to the Coal Board. Part of the house contains a collection of furniture and pictures under the National Trust and is open to the public.

BELSTEAD HOUSE, Belstead, Ipswich, Suffolk.

Opened: 1949. *Capacity:* 30. *Annual Total of Students:* 907
Sponsorship: East Suffolk County Council

Remarks: The college has made a particular point of running courses for teachers employed by the County Council, and for youth and people employed in the Youth Service. It also runs a small number of open courses. Out of a total of 46 courses and 907 students, 32 were for teachers, youth and youth service with a total of 663 resident students.

BURTON MANOR, Wirral, Cheshire.

Opened: 1948 *Capacity:* 60. *Annual Total of Students:* 2666
Sponsorship: Local Education Authorities of Liverpool, Bootle, Wallasey, Birkenhead, Cheshire and Lancashire in association with the University of Liverpool.

Remarks: The college is controlled by a governing body on which the Local Authorities contributing to it are represented under a chairman from the University of Liverpool. It has specialised particularly in running fortnight courses for industrial personnel including particularly supervisors, but also courses for higher management and for Local Authority staffs. The college is able to run two, and sometimes three, courses simultaneously and a programme of cultural courses with some special emphasis on local history and the English language and literature are run throughout the year. The college has set its face against short courses and the great bulk of the industrial work is done in two week courses and the cultural work in one week courses with a much smaller number of weekends. Students attending courses run by the college were divided in 1950-51 as follows: —

Semi-vocational courses for Industry and Commerce.....	608
Local Government courses.....	74
Current Affairs courses.....	130
Cultural and General courses.....	763
College Refresher courses for Teachers.....	22
	<hr/>
	1597
	<hr/>

The other 1069 students were on courses organised by other bodies.

DENMAN COLLEGE, near Abingdon, Berkshire.

Opened: 1948. *Capacity:* 45. *Annual Total of Students:* 1621
Sponsorship: National Federation of Women's Institutes.

Remarks: The college was founded in memory of Lady Denman and the funds raised by subscription from the seven thousand odd branches of the Federation scattered throughout the country. In addition a grant was made from the Carnegie U.K. Trust for the initial equipment of the college. The college runs mid-week courses entirely for Women's Institute members and mainly on domestic science, home and rural crafts. There are, in addition, courses on more literary subjects. The college has been remarkably well supported by the Institutes from all over the country.

DILLINGTON HOUSE, near Ilminster, Somerset.

Opened: 1950. *Capacity:* 40. *Annual Total of Students:* 1374
Sponsorship: Somerset County Council.

Remarks: The college was founded very largely with the intention of providing a centre which could be used by the County Council for conferences and training courses organised by the Education Committee, with provision for open courses to the general public. The college also provides for conferences and training courses run by outside organisations including, for example, the nationalised railways.

GRANTLEY HALL, near Ripon, Yorkshire.

Opened: 1949. *Capacity:* 55. *Annual Total of Students:* 2310
Sponsorship: West Riding of Yorkshire County Council.

Remarks: The college runs a variety of cultural courses and some vocational courses for industrial personnel, teachers, public

health employees and others. It also provides facilities for outside training courses and conferences. 1401 students attended courses arranged by the college and 909 courses arranged by outside bodies.

HOLLY ROYDE, Palatine Road, Withington, Manchester.

Opened: 1944 (for Services Education)
1948 (general educational programme)

Capacity: 35. *Annual Total of Students*: 955.

Sponsorship: University of Manchester acting through a general committee for adult education on which the University, the Local Authority, the W.E.A. and the Association of Tutors in Adult Education are represented.

Remarks: The college was opened in 1944 to provide courses for Servicemen. In 1948 it was taken over by Manchester University and started to offer the normal range of residential courses. The college may be said to have sprung from the Lamb Guildhouse Association founded in 1938 which was an independent self-governing educational centre. The Association still exists and its activities have been transferred to Holly Royde. In addition to the normal run of courses the college ran a three months' course for Scandinavian students from January to April, 1950. A large number of local students joined in the Scandinavian programme in joint classes held three nights a week during the course.

KNUSTON HALL, Irchester, Northamptonshire.

Opened: 1951. *Capacity*: 30. *Annual Total of Students*: 1300

Sponsorship: Northamptonshire County Council.

Remarks: The college was opened partly as a result of a need expressed by voluntary organisations in the country for a residential centre where they could hold their own courses or conferences. In addition the County Council was anxious to hold residential courses for teachers and to offer courses to the general public. Since its opening up to May, 1952, 87 courses have been held — 27 arranged by voluntary organisations, 22 open to the public, 19 specialist courses (for example, child care or civil defence) and 19 entirely for teachers.

LENTON HURST, Derby Road, Nottingham.

Opened: 1945. *Capacity*: 33. *Annual Total of Students*: 800

Sponsorship: University of Nottingham.

Remarks: The college, in which courses for the Services had been run during the war, was acquired by the University in 1945. It has continued to run courses almost entirely for the Services (over 90% of the students). The courses are mainly of one week's or two weeks' duration.

MADINGLEY HALL, near Cambridge.

Opened: 1950 (partial opening)

1952 (full capacity)

Capacity: 50.

Sponsorship: University of Cambridge.

Remarks: Considerable adaptations to the buildings at Madingley Hall are being carried out and it is hoped to open the college with a capacity of 50 students in the autumn of 1952. Since 1950, however, a small number of postgraduate research students have been living in the college and a small number of varied courses have been run by the Extra-Mural department in the building.

MISSENDEN ABBEY, Great Missenden, Bucks.

Opened: 1947 (partially)

Capacity: 35.

1950 (full time)

Annual Total of Students: 2,000+

Sponsorship: Buckinghamshire County Council.

Remarks: Missenden Abbey was first opened for weekend courses only in 1947. In 1950 the college started to work on a full time basis. In addition to open general courses for the public almost entirely held at the weekends, the college runs a considerable number of courses for the Services, teachers and other organisations and is also let to outside organisations including Government departments for special training courses and conferences.

MOOR PARK, near Farnham, Surrey.

Opened: 1950 *Capacity*: 24. *Annual Total of Students*: See below

Sponsorship: Personal.

Remarks: The college was started on the enterprise of Canon Parsons who sought support from the Church of England and from

the Local Authorities. Although his enterprise has been viewed with sympathy by both, it is not officially sponsored by the Church of England or by Local Authorities. It has run a number of short courses almost entirely at weekends on such subjects as "Work in Modern Society," "Health and Healing," "Christian Idea of Marriage," "The Church and the Modern World." The college is not as yet secure financially, and is not in full operation.

PENDLEY MANOR, Tring, Hertfordshire.

Opened: 1948. *Capacity:* 45. *Annual Total of Students:* 2134

Sponsorship: The college was originated by the present warden, Dorian Williams, and was formed into a company.

Remarks: The college runs a heavy programme of weekend and mid-week courses. It has run a special series of courses for industrial supervisors at mid-week and for Metropolitan police. Small grants have been obtained from educational trusts and from neighbouring Local Authorities. The college has succeeded in meeting a very high proportion of its total costs from its student fees. There has, however, always been a gap between receipts and expenditure which has been difficult to fill and negotiations have been proceeding for a new form of sponsorship for the college.

PRIMROSE HILL (Birmingham University Centre for Continued Studies) Bristol Road, Birmingham 29.

Opened: 1948. *Capacity:* 33. *Annual Total of Students:* 950

Sponsorship: University of Birmingham and the Fircroft College Trust.

Remarks: The college was opened in 1948 with the aid of a grant made by the Fircroft College Trust. It was designed to provide fairly advanced courses mainly for graduates who are working very largely in the professions or as technologists in industry. Courses are mainly of long weekend duration. A small number of more general courses are held in conjunction with the Extra-Mural Department of Birmingham. Some typical courses are: "Modern Plant Physiology" (for teachers and biologists); "Modern Developments in Automatic Control Systems" (University Department of Electrical Engineering), "Experiments in Selection Methods for Teaching" (Institute of Education), "Child Care and the State" (Social Services Department and

the Home Office), "The Elizabethan Age in the Arts" (Extra-Mural Department), "Obstetric Physiotherapy" (Department of Obstetrics and Gynaecology). It will be noticed that the courses are sponsored by one of the Faculties or Departments of the University, the more general cultural courses being sponsored by the Extra-Mural Department.

STOKE HOUSE, Stoke Hammond, Bletchley, Bucks.

Opened: 1947. *Capacity*: 35. *Annual Total of Students*: —
Sponsorship: Personal.

Remarks: Stoke House was started by Wing Commander Noel Heath and his wife primarily as a centre for the teaching and practice of crafts such as pottery. The college did not originally offer set courses but an open invitation to those interested in a range of crafts to study at the college for as long as they could manage and to work at their crafts with some skilled help and instruction. The college later arranged for a certain number of lettings. It has always had difficulty in meeting its costs and has been maintained very largely at the personal sacrifice of Wing Commander Heath.

URCHFONTE MANOR, near Devizes, Wiltshire.

Opened: 1947. *Capacity*: 25. *Annual Total of Students*: 1046
Sponsorship: Wiltshire County Council associated with Bristol University and (since 1950) with Berkshire, Dorset, Gloucester, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Oxfordshire, Reading and Southampton.

Remarks: Administration and finance of the college is controlled by Wiltshire County Council. A full time tutor is provided and paid for by Bristol University as are any lecturers drawn from the University staff. The associated Local Authorities are represented on the governing body of the college and make a contribution to Wiltshire County Council in respect of students from their area using the college. Courses at Urchfont cover the usual range and include courses for industrial personnel, mainly at the supervisory level, and some other semi-vocational courses. The college has only used lettings occasionally and has maintained a fairly high proportion of five day or one week courses.

WANSFELL, Theydon Bois, Epping, Essex.

Opened: 1949. *Capacity:* 33. *Annual Total of Students:* 1158

Sponsorship: Essex County Council.

Remarks: College started mainly with short courses but is developing more mid-week and longer periods. It has not specialised in any particular field.

WEDGWOOD MEMORIAL COLLEGE, Barlaston, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire.

Opened: 1948. *Capacity:* 35. *Annual Total of Students:* 1850.

Sponsorship: North Staffordshire Committee for Adult Education (Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire, Stoke-on-Trent, Oxford University, W.E.A.).

Remarks: The college is the only exact example of a college which has grown directly from the tradition of the tutorial class with its intimate association between the Extra-Mural Department of a University and the W.E.A. Tutors are provided to the college by the University and the W.E.A. Administrative expenses are covered by the Local Authorities in the proportion Staffordshire 45%, Stoke-on-Trent 45%, Burton-on-Trent 10%. Courses very largely spring from the part time teaching work of the University and the W.E.A. with a number of courses for teachers and other Local Authority interests. A feature of the college has been to run courses for sixth form boys in schools and to run serial weekends throughout the winter. The college runs a number of summer school courses very similar to those run by all universities in the August period.

WESTHAM HOUSE, Barford, near Warwick, Warwickshire.

Opened: 1947. *Capacity:* 35. *Annual Total of Students:* 1411.

Sponsorship: See "Remarks."

Remarks: The college was originally conceived by a group on the Warwickshire Rural Community Council. Funds were raised by a national appeal. The purpose of the college being described as an attempt to rebuild contact and understanding between townsman and countryman. The college has been constituted as an education trust. Contributions to the college are made by Warwickshire County Council and Coventry City. The college runs mainly weekend and three day

courses with a small number of one week courses. Being a short distance from Stratford-on-Avon it has made a specialty of courses on Shakespeare and Shakespeare's England. Some courses for Army Education Corps, teachers and trade unionists are provided.

WREA HEAD, Scalby, Scarborough, Yorkshire.

Opened: 1950. *Capacity:* 30. *Annual Total of Students:* 910.

Sponsorship: North Riding of Yorkshire County Council.

Remarks: The Education Authority adopted the unusual plan of running the college without a full time resident principal. A married couple were appointed as resident host and housekeeper and a senior officer of the Education Committee goes over to the college to open most courses and in some cases to run them. In general, however, the college is used by a very wide variety of local organisations and departments of the Local Authority who design and run their own courses there with their own lecturers. A considerable proportion of one week courses are run in addition to weekends and short mid-week courses. Of 47 courses run in 1951, 33 were provided by the Education Committee, 3 by other education authorities, 2 by university societies, and 9 by other voluntary organisations.

Y.M.C.A. COLLEGE, Broadstairs, Kent.

Opened: 1949. *Capacity:* 40. *Annual Total of Students:* 1899.

Sponsorship: Y.M.C.A. and Kent County Council.

Remarks: The college was founded as part of a long term scheme by the Y.M.C.A. to establish residential colleges for various age groups. There is already a youth college at Rhoose, Glamorgan running a two-year training course in citizenship and there is a project for a college for more senior people in Sussex. The Y.M.C.A. also sponsor a series of three monthly courses for members of junior management in industry at Cheshunt College, Cambridge and in Durham University. The Broadstairs College has a special interest in running courses for the young worker but it also runs a considerable variety of more general courses. In 1950-51 the college ran eight two-week courses with 110 students, 32 short courses, mainly weekends, with 1362 students, 10 summer schools of one week with 423 students. There were also four long-term students staying an average of two months.

APPENDIX II

NOTE ON FINANCE

Attempts to obtain any satisfactory comparison of detailed financial accounts for the new residential colleges are defeated by the many variations in method of showing figures and by very considerable differences in circumstances. Many colleges are administered with the aid of the financial and architect's staff of a Local Education Authority; some show a charge for these services, others do not. In some cases a tutor's salary is carried by a university, or lecturer's fees paid by an outside authority: here again, some show this in their accounts, others do not. Some colleges in their early years make little allowance for depreciation or maintenance: others are involved in heavy non-recurring expenditure in adaptations and equipment. Some colleges, such as Denman College, get a large number of lecturers free from their own national organisation, while others are devoting a large annual sum to outside lecturers. Detailed comparison would therefore only be deceptive even if complete figures were generally available.

There are, however, some rough general guides to the scale of expenditure which have emerged from the early experience of this form of education. First, if special cases are excluded, it appears to cost between £250 and £350 per annum to provide one student-place. Thus a college with 25 places will probably have a gross annual expenditure of about £7,500 - £8,000; 40 places involves £10,000 - £12,000; 60 places £15,000 - £20,000. There are some notable exceptions — Denman College, with very small lecturing and administrative expenses, is keeping open 45 places on about £8,000, which is probably the most economical budget of the whole group.

Perhaps more significant than the cost per place is the cost per student-week, which is a function of size and turnover. This cost, according to statements by various colleges, appears to vary from about £7 to about £12; probably £10 is a fair figure if all costs are fully reckoned. The relationship of cost per place and cost per student week is readily seen. A college of 40 places costing £12,000 per

annum (£300 per place) must run 1,200 student-weeks to achieve a £10 per week figure. Since no college is likely to have its absolute maximum numbers on every course, this figure of 1,200 student-weeks might consist of an average attendance of 36 students for 33½ working weeks. By increasing the number of working weeks to 40, the college could cover over 1,500 student-weeks with the same average attendance, bringing cost per student down to just under £8. Only the large colleges can hope to run really continuously. A college which ran 40 one-week courses and allowed even one day's gap for recuperation between each loses 6 weeks in this way, apart from a necessary gap at Christmas and probably another for summer vacation for the staff. In fact, most of the colleges run a large number of courses of less than a week, and non-working time mounts even more rapidly.

Fees vary about £3 10. 0. per week to about £5 10. 0. (Ashridge charges 25/- per day). It is thus easy to see where the subsidy is necessary; — a college charging £5 per week and having a cost per student-week of £9 is losing £4 per week per student. None of the colleges feel it right to make the full economic charge, which would virtually exclude all lower paid wage-earners; and they point to all other forms of publicly provided education, which is invariably subsidised, sometimes as to 100%. Some controlling bodies take the view that the actual cost of housing and feeding the student — the hotel charge — should be covered, leaving the teaching and administrative costs to public funds; and this in a rough and ready way is what most colleges are achieving. Local education authorities receive a grant of 60% on net expenditure from the Ministry of Education. Thus the budget of a college, as instanced above, with 40 places might appear roughly as follows: —

Gross Annual Expenditure....	£12,000	
Fees Received — 1,500 Student-weeks at £5 per week	7,500	— Cost per place..... £300 — Cost per student-week, £8
Deficit	£4,500	
Cost to Local Authority (40%)	£1,800	
Cost to National Exchequer (60%)	2,700	

If all expenditure is fully reckoned, this is probably a slightly optimistic budget — a gross cost of £10 per student-week would be a safer figure at current wage and price levels and with adequate provision for maintenance and payment of lecturers.

Apart from special circumstances, it is more difficult to run a very small college economically. It is probably necessary to have about 40 places to reach an economic size. There does not appear to be any great advantage on costs in the college with 60 or 70 places.

Requests to be put on the mailing list for OCCASIONAL PAPERS and general editorial correspondence should be directed to Occasional Papers, The Fund for Adult Education, 595 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. Single copies free. Quantity prices on application.

<p>BOARD OF DIRECTORS</p>

SARAH GIBSON BLANDING

HOWARD BRUCE

THE REV. JOHN J. CAVANAUGH

JOHN L. COLLYER

CLARENCE H. FAUST

C. SCOTT FLETCHER, *President*

CLARENCE FRANCIS

CLINTON S. GOLDEN

PAUL H. HELMS, *Chairman of the Board*

GEORGE M. HUMPHREY

ALLAN B. KLINE

CHARLES H. PERCY, *Vice-Chairman of the Board*

ANNA LORD STRAUSS

MARTHA C. HOWARD, *Secretary*

ERNEST L. YOUNG, *Acting Treasurer*